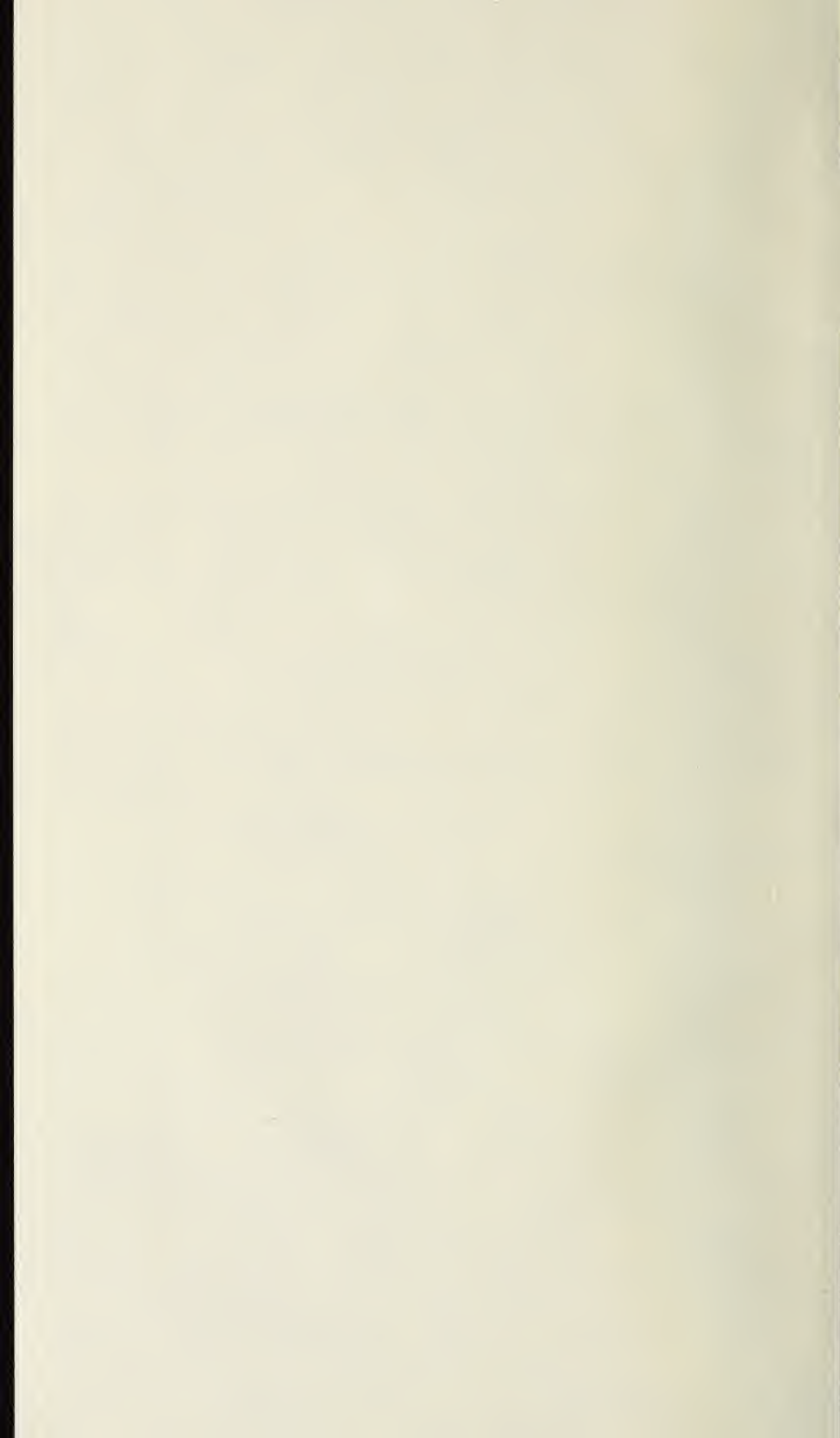


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JOURNAL

OF THE

SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE

OF THE

BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS

WITH

THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES CO OPERATING  
WITH THE GOVERNMENT, AND REPORTS OF THEIR  
WORK AMONG THE INDIANS



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WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 15, 1873.

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## JOURNAL OF THE SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS

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WASHINGTON, *January 15, 1873.*

A meeting of conference was held by the Board of Indian Commissioners with the representation of the missionary boards, engaged in Indian missionary work, at the "Arlington," Washington, D. C., at 10 a. m., Wednesday, January 15, 1873.

There were in attendance Commissioners Felix R. Brunot, (chairman,) Dodge, Bishop, Campbell, Lang, Tobey, and Farwell, and T. K. Cree, secretary of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and the following representatives of the mission boards of the churches engaged in Indian work :

Rev. S. B. Treat, D. D., secretary American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions ; Rev. Jay L. Backus, D. D., secretary American Baptist Home Missionary Association ; Rev. George Whipple, D. D., secretary American Missionary Association ; Rev. George Deshon, Roman Catholic Missions ; Rev. John C. Lowrie, D. D., secretary Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions ; Rev. R. L. Dashiell, corresponding secretary Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society ; Colonel E. C. Kemble, secretary Protestant Episcopal Indian Commission ; Rev. John G. Brown, D. D., secretary Board Home Missions United Presbyterian Church ; Rev. J. M. Ferris, D. D., Reformed Dutch Church Mission Society ; Rev. W. L. Hayden, Christian Missionary Convention ; Dr. William Nicholson, Cyrus Beede, Benjamin Tatham, Thomas Wistar, F. T. King, Society of Friends, (Orthodox ; ) Samuel M. Janney, Daniel Foulke, Dillwyn Parrish, B. Rush Roberts, Richard T. Bentley, (Hick-site ; ) Rev. John T. Sargent, secretary Massachusetts Indian Commission ; Aaron M. Powell, New York Indian Aid Society ; R't Rev. William Hobart Hare, missionary bishop of Niobrara ; Bishop Harris, Methodist Episcopal Church ; Edward P. Smith, American Missionary Association ; Hon. William Welch and Mr. King, Protestant Episcopal Indian Commission ; Hon. C. Cole, United States Senate ; Hon. John W. Stevenson, United States Senate ; Hon. C. B. Farwell, House of Representatives ; Colonel Phillips, member-elect to House of Representatives ; and William P. Ross and other representatives of the civilized tribes in the Indian Territory ; General O. O. Howard, United States Army, and many other friends of the Indians.

The chairman called upon Right Rev. Bishop Whipple to open the meeting with prayer, after which he said :

In behalf of the Board of Indian Commissioners it gives me pleasure to welcome you most cordially, and to say that we appreciate the effort made by the missionary boards of all the churches in co-operating with our endeavor to civilize and christianize the Indian wards of the nation. Much has already been accomplished toward civilizing the Indian race ; their condition has been much improved, and a more just administration of the laws and designs of the Government pertaining to them has been secured by the co-operation of the missionary boards that you represent. We invited you to meet with us as the representa-

tives of these boards that we may hear such statements as you may have to make in regard to the progress of the work, and suggestions as to the needs of it, to the end that we may secure greater efficiency and insure continued progress. It is believed in this meeting together much good may be accomplished for the future. So much has already been accomplished as to make it almost certain that if four years more of the present Indian policy is pursued, there will be no question of the same humane and just policy being adhered to so long as an Indian policy by our Government is necessary. There has been much pressure brought to bear upon the administration to induce a change in the Indian policy, but public opinion has sustained it in its high aims. But as difficulties are met with not only by the administration and the friends of the Indians, but by the agents in the field, it is necessary that public opinion should support them, also, in carrying out the designs of the system. The board will not attempt to instruct the missionary societies in their duties, but will ask such recommendations from them as their experience in the work may suggest as necessary in successfully carrying it on. There are, however, some points which we think essential to success.

First in importance is the selecting of agents who represent you in the field. The very best attainable men should be secured to fill these important positions.

Second. The employés should all be married men of Christian, or, at least, good moral character; and the agent should be held responsible for their right doing. In some cases in which the agents you have nominated have been Christian men, disposed to do right and to endeavor to civilize and christianize the Indian, those about them as subordinate officials have not been men of the same character, and the efforts of the agents have been thwarted. The missionary societies ought to know not only that the agent is a proper man for his position, but that all his employés are men of good character, and they should exercise a careful supervision of the agencies committed to them, and see that they are perfectly conducted. I might cite many other needs of the service, but they have, doubtless, all suggested themselves to you, and will be brought out more fully in the reports of your own experience in the work.

I will call upon the representatives in alphabetical order and will ask them to give the result of their experience in the operations of the past year.

Mr. WELCH. The gentlemen that have been invited to meet with the Board, and who have listened to your statement in regard to the kind of agents that are necessary, would like to confer with you in regard to the difficulties they meet with in the field. We secure an agent of the right kind—one desirous of doing his duty—and the communities living about him, interested in defrauding the people committed to his care, in every way endeavor to thwart him, and even here such agents are threatened with removal by men of influence if they continue to stand between them and their illicit gains. An agent beset by these difficulties is present to-day. If you need strength and public opinion, will you tell us in what direction it is needed? Some men say and think that the Indians have no rights that a white man must respect, any more than the wild beasts that roam the forest. There are rings that are trying to secure the lands that belong to the Indians. On these and any other points we would be glad to hear from you, and in this way we would know what points it is best for the representatives and agents to touch upon in their reports.



Mr. BRUNOT. The points to which you refer will, I presume, come up in the reports of the representatives of the missionary societies, and will thus come before the meeting for consideration, and I think it is better to have them presented in that way.

Mr. WELCH. Some who are now present cannot remain until the close of the meeting, and points might be brought out thus early in the meeting that would be of value to them. Your secretary, Mr. Cree, is here and he is conversant with all the difficulties which agents and others meet with, and he might sum up the most important for consideration by the meeting.

Mr. BRUNOT. We have all noticed the pressure to attack Indians, coming from all quarters, and any one who has watched the proposed legislation of the present session of Congress, could not but observe how many propositions there are looking to the despoiling of Indians and asking legislation unfavorable to them. Many border people seem to think that the Government has placed Indians upon these reservations as a medium through which the whites may be furnished with money, and in order that a better opportunity may be afforded to oppress them and despoil them of the Government bounty. We desire that oppression of Indians may be prevented and that wrong against them may be punished, and we desire the assistance of the missionary boards in carrying out these designs. The subject is one beset with many difficulties in its details, and it is difficult to select any definite points and say that such deserve your special effort at this moment. We need the continued co-operation of the missionary societies and friends of the Indians in getting a correct public opinion and preventing the commission of these wrongs. I think that the better mode for the conduct of our meeting will be to have these reports, and as the meeting progresses, the matters which you have suggested, with the modes by which we can best co-operate with each other in preventing these things which should be prevented, will develop themselves. I therefore propose to ask, in their order, all the representatives of the societies that they will make such reports as I have spoken of. I call on the Rev. George Whipple.

Mr. WHIPPLE. If the chairman of the board pleases, I will ask the Rev. Mr. Smith, who is the secretary of the American Missionary Association, to make a few remarks in relation to the agencies under the charge of the American Missionary Association.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I am not aware to what extent the board desires a report, but I will state that the association has had under its charge during the year four agencies, one in Washington Territory, one in Minnesota, and two in Wisconsin. There are in all about sixteen or seventeen thousand Indians under their care.

The agency at Green Bay, under Mr. Richardson, has had a year of prosperity, to which the personal efforts of the agent, aided by friends of the Indians, have contributed very much. The consent of the Department having been obtained by the agent, the Menomonee Indians did their own lumbering last winter, and the lumber which they took into market realized \$20,000, which left to the Indians about \$12,000 net after all expenses were paid. A double benefit thus accrued to the Indians, the benefit arising from being the recipients of the proceeds of the outlay for subsistence and the encouragement to labor. A great outcry was raised by the lumbermen of Wisconsin against this transaction, which was officially represented through a Wisconsin Representative in the House, and a commission, of which Mr. Turney, of the Board of Indian Commissioners, was a member, was appointed by the Secretary

of the Interior to inquire into the matter. The report which represented the transaction as being in every way a beneficial one, and entirely upright, was entirely satisfactory to the Department.

Permission for the Indians to lumber was asked for again this year by Mr. Richardson, but owing to the interference of parties in Wisconsin, it was not granted. Subsequently, through the misrepresentations of interested parties, the Department asked the association to discharge Mr. Richardson and nominate another man in his place.

The agencies at Superior and Chippewa have had a prosperous year in many respects, and their schools have gone forward with considerable success.

The agency in Minnesota is much more difficult, as it is a larger field, the reservations connected with it being scattered all over the State. There have been built at the reservations this year, one hundred and nine comfortable log-houses, 18 by 22 feet, with five rooms in each house. The work was all done by the Indians, with the exception of some portions which actually needed the services of skilled carpenters. The lumber has been all sawed by the Indians, and the engineer is a full-blood Indian.

Their crops in the spring were very fine indeed, but they have since been all destroyed by the grasshoppers, and there is likely to be suffering among them this winter. They have supported themselves by labor during the past summer. I think there is no doubt in the minds of the association as to the practicability of christianizing these Chippewas, or any other Indians under their charge. It is only a question of time and patience, of kind and fair dealing, and they think the Government ought to make considerable appropriations to forward the work.

It is a constant complaint that the new plan is costing more than the old one. So it does for the present. I can go into Minnesota and distribute their blankets to them or give them their ten dollars per year each, and then leave them, and the cost will be much less than staying with them and opening schools and farms. But, in the former case, the distribution of blankets and their support would have to be continued while they exist, while in the latter they will soon become self-supporting, valuable citizens, and eventually millions of dollars will be saved. The old plan would require a persistent and continued expenditure, while the new plan will soon obviate the necessity for any outlay. I have no question but that a single generation, with the children kept in school, will crush the barbarism in Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. We would now be pleased to hear from Bishop Whipple.

Bishop WHIPPLE. Mr. Chairman, as the agency in Minnesota is more directly under the eye of Mr. Smith, I will not do more than make a few remarks upon these agencies. I have been at the White Earth agency, and with all the Indians in the northern part of Minnesota, and for the first time in my connection with Indian affairs have I found an agent and his employes wholly occupied with their labor for the Indians. It is not simply that the agent has been faithful. He has had to grapple with the most terrible resistance. These things should be considered. It is a matter of law. There is no law in the Indian country. The Christian Indian is taught by his teacher that he is not to pursue the old plan of acting under the law of instinct. His crops may be injured and destroyed, and he is perfectly helpless, as the Government has never provided any judicial officer to protect his rights. One Indian may kill another in the most populous town, and no questions are asked. An Indian has killed another in the streets since I



have resided there, and it was considered a matter of no consequence. The Government leaves these Indians utterly unprotected. Cases of murder are occurring constantly, and an effort to protect these Indians brings down great opposition. I think a great deal of credit is due to the wife of the agent. She has taken a great interest in all, endeavoring to civilize and elevate the Indian women. Mrs. Smith has been teaching these women to make soap, and their households have been entirely renovated; and, so far as I know, every effort which honest, faithful Christian people could make for the safety of these poor people has been made.

The difficulties in Minnesota grew merely out of the lack of any law whatever. The Leech Lake Indians are perhaps one of the worst bodies of Indians, in this respect, to be found in the country. They have again and again committed murder among their own people. For instance, Hole-in-the-Day was killed; he was chief of the tribe. We have had at least twenty such murders committed in open daylight.

Mr. WHIPPLE. Mr. Chairman, permit me to ask Mr. Welch to make a few remarks relative to the Indians of whom we have been speaking.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman, I had an official interview with General Sheridan in regard to the character of these Indians. He stated that although considerable trouble was occasioned at times by the Chippewas, and he was compelled to punish them, he did not blame them so much, because in nearly every case, they were aggravated by wrongs. He felt assured that if the Government would pursue a right and just course toward these Indians, a large proportion of the crimes could be remedied. I think the Chippewa Indians are the worst band I have known in Minnesota. I want to say a word, Mr. Chairman, about these Leech Lakes. They are ordered by the government of Minnesota to remain on the reservation. They have \$4,000 a year for agricultural purposes and purposes of tillage, and there are about two thousand of them. They could not remain on their reservation and make a living. It would be a question of starvation or of disobeying the Government authorities. They roam all over Minnesota and are liable to come in contact with the whites, who are ordered to drive them back, and if necessary raise the militia and force them back. The agent says they come up to the reservation and ask me to give them work. I have not a dollar of money and cannot get it, yet there are these Indians among us, and we are directed by the Department to keep them on the reservation. They cannot live on the reservation. They came to me last summer—more than a hundred of them—and asked me to give them work. If I had an appropriation I might give them work.

Mr. BRUNOT. There appear to be two very important facts developed by this statement. One of these facts is that it is not admitted that the Indians have any right to make a living on the reservation by selling the lumber which belongs to them, for thus they may conflict with the whites in the neighborhood; and the other one is this: it has just been represented that they are not to have leave to go off the reservation, for the purpose of earning a living by labor.

Mr. TATHAM. I propose that these two facts and all other points which are, or may be, deemed of interest in the course of the council, be especially noted, in order that the condition of these Indians may be brought to view at a future time. It is proper that we should hear the truth, and I am in hopes that nothing here developed will be lost, and that the secretary will make notes of the points as we go on.

Dr. NICHOLSON. Our body has charge of the Indians in the Central superintendency; which embraces all in the Indian Territory, and a few

in Kansas, numbering in all about 18,000, two-thirds of whom are roving Indians, differing very much in their habits and modes of life. We have fourteen schools—three in Kansas and eleven in the Indian Territory. We endeavor to teach the ordinary branches, but are particularly desirous of imparting moral and religious truths. Our instruction in the schools has been, as far as possible, such as will fit the children, when they grow up, to take their places in the community as civilized people. We have endeavored to teach them that labor is not degrading. Our teaching is largely by illustration, using maps, charts, pictures, and objects, which are familiar to the eyes of the pupils. We try to be thoroughly practical, and in moral teaching, to illustrate it by the lives of those who are sent to instruct them. We teach truth and honesty. All their preconceived ideas and practices must be laid aside. They readily receive religious instruction, and soon learn to come to God in prayer. They accept religion as a matter of faith. We consider this an important feature of our work. We take the boys, place them upon farms, and teach them to work, and the result has been very satisfactory. The girls we place in families, and they are taught how to work, keep house, and such things as will be of use to them when they come to have homes of their own. Many of the agencies are at remote localities, and the difficulties incident to this cannot be appreciated by one not familiar with the situation. Some agencies are three hundred miles from the railroad. Everything must be transported by ox-teams. There are no bridges; and with every effort on the part of the Government, at times supplies fail to reach the agents when they are most needed; and the Indians, needing food and blankets, become dissatisfied and hard to manage. It is very difficult to secure employés of the right kind, and at the more distant agencies it is almost impossible to secure such, and an agent must take such as he can get. Most of the whites whom the agent finds with the Indians are not such as he would wish to employ. Interpreters are unreliable, and it is impossible to get Christian men who speak the language of these wild southern tribes. When commissioners go to treat with them, they cannot understand what is said, and interpreters may put any construction they wish upon what is proposed, and what can we say or do? We are powerless in their hands. Sometimes the interpreters, who are usually ignorant men, do not fully understand the provisions of the treaties and agreements, and do not take the trouble to know that they are correct.

Intruders upon reservations are a serious difficulty. They will come in, and the Government, at times, must be called upon to remove them. White Indians, or whites who have been adopted into Indian tribes, occasion us much annoyance. They are citizens of the United States or Indians, just as it suits their interest to be. They have great influence with chiefs, and often decide important questions, adversely to the interest of the Indians, if it suits themselves. Many white men ask that the Department shall recognize their adoption by Indian tribes.

The roving habits of many of the tribes is a most serious difficulty. We send a good agent and missionary, and they come in contact with the main body of Indians for so short a time that their influence, so far as civilization goes, is very slight. Of many of the tribes ninety-nine one hundredths are away on the plains, out of reach of the agent much of the time, and Christian influences cannot reach such tribes. They refuse to leave their children at the schools. The only way to teach them, we find, is to have missionaries and teachers go with them. We have one such with Kicking Bird's band of Kiowas. He has his quarters with the chief, and it is easily seen how great an influence for good



his constant presence with them in their wanderings will have. He has been able to collect many of the children in his "roving school," and we anticipate much good from his efforts. If we get such missionaries with all the roving bands their influence for good will be more marked than any effort the Government has ever made. A tribe cannot go upon a raid while the missionary is with them, and the chief is responsible for his safety.

The increased interest of the Indian children in their schools is very encouraging to us. The children used to run away from the schools, and the agents had to keep their horses saddled most of the time to hunt them up and bring them back; but now so desirous are many of them to attend, that when the parents object to their coming, children will run away from home to attend. Children who go home during vacations persuade other children to attend, and the schools are as large as the present buildings will permit of their being. There are at present four hundred and twenty-five children in our schools. We have several Sabbath-schools, and the children willingly come to them; and in our church and house services, whether regular service or the study of the Bible, the adults willingly participate. In our chapel service the minister, in some cases, uses only the English language and the interpreters translate it to the Indians. Thus religious services have a great influence on these tribes. They are evincing more interest in the Sabbath-schools and prayer-meetings, and the influence of them is being felt upon all classes. Even the half-breeds, who have been usually the hardest class to reach, are becoming awakened. In some cases when they have yielded to temptation, they have evinced great penitence, and resolved to try again. There is an increased attention to the sanctity of the marriage tie, and the agents and missionaries have given much attention to instructing them in regard to this. Many of the chiefs and head-men and others have been regularly married by the agent or missionary, the ceremony being performed in the church and being made as impressive as possible, and its origin and the law of God and man in regard to it explained to them.

I have prepared a comparative statement showing the condition of the Indians in 1868 as compared with 1872. It shows a marked improvement—an increase in population, products, and schools, and in everything that goes to make up real growth and advancement in civilization. A marked improvement is manifested in the raising of stock. It is the natural transition state between roving and farming. The increase in the Central superintendency in this item is tenfold.

Mr. BRUNOT. We will now hear from Mr. Janney, of the Friends, (Hicksites.)

Mr. JANNEY said: We represent six yearly meetings of Friends, namely, Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Indiana, Ohio, and Genesee.

The Indian tribes assigned to our care by the President are those living on reservations in the State of Nebraska, designated as the Northern superintendency, comprising six agencies, the Santee Sioux, the Winnebago, the Omaha, the Pawnee, the Otoe, and the Great Nemaha.

Through a communication recently received from the superintendent, Barclay White, we are informed that the conduct of the Indians under his care during the past year has been peaceable and orderly, no act of violence having been committed by an Indian upon a white person in the superintendency.

The Santee Sioux agency is situated on the Missouri River, about two hundred miles north of Omaha. The Indians of this tribe continue to improve in the agricultural and mechanical arts. They all wear citi-

zens' dress except a few old women. All sleep on bedsteads, eat from tables, and sit on chairs. The men work on their allotments and assist in building their own houses. They manifest great satisfaction at the issue of wagons, harness, plows, &c., which has been made during the year, promising to make good use of them, as they consider it an evidence that the Government desires their welfare and wishes them to become an agricultural people,

The women of this tribe are improving; and in order to instruct them in household duties and the care of their children, the Friends have employed and sent to their aid a woman of worth and intelligence, whose example and teaching are exercising a salutary influence.

There are two missions at this agency, one of them supported and conducted by the Episcopalians, the other by the American Board; both of them have schools, and hold meetings for divine worship in which the services are conducted in the Dakota language. Most of the Indians belong to one or the other of the churches, and many of them can read and write in their vernacular language. The number of Indians at this agency is nine hundred and sixty-five, of whom four hundred and twenty-four are males and five hundred and forty-one females.

The Winnebago agency is situated about eighty miles north of Omaha, and the reservation borders on the Missouri River. The improvement in this tribe during the past year has been very satisfactory. All the men have adopted the dress of citizens, and most of them are willing to work. At the commencement of the wheat harvest about two hundred men of the tribe obtained from the agent permission to leave the reservation, in order to seek for work in the neighboring harvest-fields. One of the farmers afterward reported that these Indians worked equally as well as white laborers, and that without their assistance sufficient labor could not have been obtained to secure the crops.

The annual election of chiefs by this tribe, a custom not yet adopted elsewhere in the superintendency, is found to work well; and is considered by the superintendent and agent an important step in the right direction, being calculated to fit them for a higher plane of civilization. The hereditary chiefs who were in power some years ago, evince but little interest in the improvement of their people, and encourage the old superstition. The Winnebagoes have recently received the patents for their lands allotted to them in severalty. They accepted them with many grateful expressions, having been anxiously expecting them for two years past. More than a year ago some of them had settled on their farms in houses which the agency carpenter and his apprentices had assisted them to build, and within the last year thirty new houses have been completed under contract, which have given them great satisfaction. They are warm and convenient, having five rooms, and are plastered and interlined with tarred paper. Every family that goes into one of those houses is supplied with a cooking-stove and a heating-stove, a wagon and harness, a bedstead and four chairs. The agency carpenter makes tables and cupboards. The new houses have been given to the Indian families who showed most industry and desire to improve their allotments. The appearance of the reservation has been materially changed by being dotted over with these cottages, neatly painted with two shades of brown or drab.

The three day-schools for the Winnebagoes are flourishing, being taught by an efficient corps of teachers. The plans for an industrial boarding-school, to accommodate eighty scholars, are in the hands of an architect for completion, and the building will be erected as early in the spring or summer as practicable. This tribe numbers one thousand four



hundred and forty, of whom seven hundred are males and seven hundred and forty females.

The Omaha reservation lies adjoining to that of the Winnebagoes, and the agency buildings are about seventy miles north of Omaha. The Omahas are an orderly and peaceable people, bearing a good character among their white neighbors. The men labor in the fields, and in favorable seasons raise good crops, a part of which they sell and apply the proceeds to useful purposes. They have cut and hauled to their saw-mill a large quantity of timber, which has been converted into lumber, and much of it transported to their several allotments. The agency carpenter and his Indian apprentices have built a number of comfortable cottages, but for want of sufficient funds the agent's earnest endeavors in this direction have been impeded.

The tribe having accepted the provisions of a recent act of Congress authorizing the sale of fifty thousand acres of land from their reservation, arrangements are now being made to bring it into market, and we have no doubt the proceeds will supply ample funds to build houses, to purchase live stock and agricultural implements, and to establish an industrial boarding-school. They have now three day-schools and one Sabbath-school, which are well conducted, and much prized by the tribe. The Omahas number nine hundred and sixty-nine, of whom four hundred and ninety-seven are males and four hundred and seventy-two females.

The Pawnee agency is about one hundred and fifteen miles west from Omaha and a part of their reservation lies near the line of the Union Pacific Railroad. The Pawnees have been retarded in their progress towards civilization by raids made upon them by war parties of the hostile Sioux, generally of the Brulé and Ogallala bands. These stealthy marauders, lurking near the Pawnee villages, murder and scalp such straggling members of the tribe as they may find, and then quickly retreat. They have sometimes been captured, but generally elude pursuit. While there is a possibility of these raids the Pawnees are reluctant to abandon their villages of mud-lodges, and to accept of allotments on the prairie, which would contribute to their health and progress in civilization. As they were about leaving for the buffalo hunt this winter they had eighty ponies stolen by the Sioux.

The Pawnee tribe consists of four bands, one of which, the Skeedees, being more advanced than the others, is preparing to move out from their village next spring and settle on small allotments of land. The chiefs in council have accepted the provisions of the act of Congress authorizing the sale of fifty thousand acres of land from their reservation, and measures are in progress to bring it into market. The sale of this land will supply funds to build houses, to purchase live stock and agricultural implements, and to advance them in civilization. Funds are now on hand for the erection of an additional building to the Pawnee manual-labor boarding-school, which will increase its capacity to nearly one hundred pupils. There is one day-school in successful operation, and buildings for two others will be constructed as soon as practicable.

The children now attending school are progressing well in their studies, and their parents evince their interest by frequently conducting them to school and remaining to witness their exercises. A Sabbath-school is in successful operation, and practical Christian women are at work at the Indian villages, nursing the sick and teaching the Indian women how to fulfill their duties as wives and mothers. This tribe numbers two thousand four hundred and forty-seven, of whom nine hundred and nine are males and one thousand five hundred and thirty-eight females.

The Otoe and Missouri tribe of Indians live on a reservation in the southern part of Nebraska, extending over the Kansas line and lying about seventy miles west of the Missouri River. Within the last three years they have greatly improved in their moral and sanitary condition; they have opened farms and built some houses, and their children are enjoying the advantages of a good day-school and a Sabbath-school.

More than two years ago the agent, with the concurrence of the tribe, recommended that eighty thousand acres of their land, being about half the reservation, should be sold and the proceeds applied to their improvement and civilization. The superintendent approved of the recommendation, and a bill was framed and offered in Congress for that purpose, but the act was not passed until last session. In the mean time a growing restlessness was manifested, and a party was formed in favor of removal to the Indian Territory. They asked and obtained leave from the agent and superintendent to visit the Indian Territory. On their return from that trip the superintendent addressed them by letter as follows :

You have been to the Indian Territory, and your agent informs me you wish to sell all your reservation and remove there. If you are all of that mind the way to do it is to give your consent in writing, in open council, for the sale of the land (eighty thousand acres) which you now have a law to sell. Express your desire in writing in open council to sell the *remainder of your reservation* and remove to the Indian Territory, and if Congress and the Great Father approve of your wishes at their great council to be held at Washington next winter, and make a law to that effect, you can move to the Indian Territory.

This proposition being interpreted to the Indians in council they declined to adopt the recommendation of the superintendent and refused to accept the law of Congress authorizing the sale of eighty thousand acres.

In a letter from Superintendent Barclay White, received last month, he says "he held a council with the tribe in the autumn when he found they quite ignored the subject of removal and seemed to avoid any allusion to it." He believes the tribe is far from united in the desire to remove; but he has informed them that whenever they express their wishes to him, through their chiefs in open council, he will take proper action thereon.

We feel assured that the act of Congress authorizing a sale of part of their land for the purposes stated therein was wise and beneficent. Although we believe their removal will not promote their welfare we shall not interfere with their independent action, but shall use whatever influence we have to secure for them a fair price for whatever lands they may conclude to sell.

The Great Nemaha agency embraces two small tribes, the Iowas and the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri, living on adjoining reservations near the Missouri River, in Nebraska, and extending over the Kansas line.

The Iowas have within the last three years given evidence of marked improvement. They were formerly a drunken, idle people, now they are temperate and industrious, evincing great interest in the education of their children, in the furnishing of their houses, and in fencing and cultivating their farms. They have a good school and an orphans' home. This institution has proved to be a blessing to the tribe, and is worthy of more liberal support. This tribe numbers two hundred and twenty-five, of whom one hundred and fourteen are males and one hundred and eleven females.

The Sacs and Foxes are only eighty-eight in number; they have made less improvement than any other Indians in the superintendency, many of them being addicted to intemperance and idleness. They have re-



quested to be removed to the Indian Territory, and arrangements for that purpose are now in progress.

*Population.*—The whole number of Indians in the Northern superintendency is six thousand five hundred and ninety-eight, of whom two thousand nine hundred and thirty are males and three thousand six hundred and sixty-eight females. This shows an average increase within the last year of one hundred and eighteen ; all the tribes, except two, having gained in numbers.

*Civilization.*—In our efforts to promote the civilization of the Indians under our care we have endeavored to lead the men by gentle and just measures to habits of industry and sobriety, encouraging them by liberal compensation for their labor, and building houses for the most industrious. The allotment of land in severalty to some of the tribes has had a salutary influence by supplying additional motives for industry and thrift. There has been a marked improvement in this respect, but we cannot expect them to abandon suddenly the idle and uncleanly habits of savage life.

We consider it exceedingly important that the Indian women should be instructed in domestic duties and in the proper care of their children. In order to effect this object we have several pious and intelligent women now engaged in this field of missionary labor, whose services are well received and very salutary. Our chief reliance, however, is in the education of the children. Most of them are bright and active, very observing and apt at learning, and their parents generally encourage them in the attendance of school. A system of object-teaching has been adopted in our schools which interests the children and fixes their attention. The English language only is taught, and we consider it very desirable that this should supersede as soon as possible their vernacular speech, in order that they may assimilate with white people and become citizens.

The children attending our schools are clothed almost entirely with materials or ready-made garments sent out by the Society of Friends. Those attending the missionary schools at the Santee agency are clothed, we believe, by the religious societies having them in charge. The Sabbath-schools at the several agencies are exerting a good influence upon the children, and on those of the adults who attend. The basis of instruction consists of lessons from the Bible, with conversation on the truths of Christianity adapted to the condition of the learners.

There are now in the Northern superintendency eleven day-schools and one industrial boarding-school in successful operation, with a prospect of several more schools being established this year.

The six yearly meetings of Friends, which we represent, have expended in the Indian service during the year \$12,900.

Mr. BRUNOT. Your society feels encouraged by the work that has been done, and is satisfied that a continuation of the same policy will in time accomplish the purpose sought—the civilization of the Indians. We will now hear from Dr. Dashiell, of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Dr. DASHIELL said: During the past month a change in the administration of affairs in our office has taken place, and I am not prepared to furnish such information as you wish ; but Bishop Harris is here ; he has been connected with this work for twelve years, and he can give all the information in regard to it. During the time I have been corresponding secretary a good degree of success seems to have crowned our efforts. As secretary of our society, I feel that the duty that the Government has assigned to us is an important and sacred trust. The nomination of agents to the Department has given me more anxiety and

care than any other subject that has come before us. We feel that the success of this policy depends upon the character of the agents we name. We have been embarrassed by some who ought to be in sympathy with the policy of the President recommending to us men unfitted for the positions. These men ought not to trouble the church with their friends, and men in Government positions of influence ought to keep their hands off this thing. We will disregard all outside influence, and will endeavor to give the services of the very best men that we can find. The general conference of our society has appointed a committee of two bishops—one in the Northwest and one on the Pacific coast. They will thoroughly investigate the subject and will give a full report to the next general conference. I will now ask Bishop Harris to speak for us.

Bishop HARRIS said: It is not necessary that I should say anything after what Dr. Dashiell has said. I have had no connection with these agents since last May. I came that I might aid Dr. Dashiell in any way in discharging our duty as a church to the commission and the Indians. We cannot report in full without reports from our agents, and those we have not. We have, in Oregon and California, special committees of ministers and laymen to take an oversight of the work in the various agencies of our church on the Pacific coast. These committees have made reports and recommendations that have been forwarded to the Department. Our society has nominated men from our own denomination; but in some cases, when it was thought advisable, have named men connected with other churches. With one or two exceptions, the men we have nominated have done well. We gave up one agency in Oregon to the Catholic church, as they had many members upon it. We did not seek for agencies, and at first none were assigned us in which we had missions. We did not then understand that the agencies were assigned to the denominations that had missions upon them. Some of the agencies had two or three different missionary societies working upon them. One agency was assigned to our church to make an opening for an agent. He was afterward removed; but we are glad to know that it was not on account of dishonesty or immorality. We have sent a good man to take his place. I have been informed that our denomination is held responsible for the administration of Indian affairs in Montana. It is said the superintendent of Indian affairs is not "clean-handed." We do not know by what influence he was appointed. He may have been recommended by members of our denomination; but we do not hold ourselves responsible for the odium of his administration and the disgrace of his official misconduct. I believe, with the exception of this region, our agents have all been faithful to the Government. In missionary work done outside of Government influence (I refer to all except schools and the work of agents and employés) we have four or five native ministers ordained by our church. We have spent three or four thousand dollars annually in support of these ministers. We have a very prosperous mission at Yakima agency at very little cost to us. The agent is a minister of our church, and every one speaks well of him and of his work. In Portland, two years ago, two Indian converts from this mission were ordained to the ministry. They are supported in part by our society. One is engaged at the Klamath agency, and is supported entirely by our church. We have missionaries at two other agencies in Oregon, where we had none when they were assigned to us. It is the design of our church to plant a mission at each of the reservations assigned to us. A contingent fund for Indian-mission work was placed at the disposal of a committee of bishops, to be used during the year, how and



where they think best. This committee is to give special attention to Indian evangelization. What the result will be I cannot tell. These bishops will visit the agencies and report on their spiritual and temporal condition. When this commission thinks that the work can be better done by others at any agency, we are ready to relinquish it. We have no end in view but the good of the Indians and of the service, and when better administration of affairs at an agency can be secured by others, I am ready to resign it to them. The civilization and Christianization of the Indians must go together. If the Government and the churches would turn their attention to Indian evangelization, they would much more rapidly accomplish their civilization.

Mr. BRUNOT. We will now hear from Rev. Dr. Lowrie, of the Presbyterian board.

Dr. LOWRIE said : I am very happy to attend this conference as a learner ; we desire to learn from the experience of others who are successfully engaged in the same work. In regard to the working of the Indian-agency system, as connected with the Presbyterian Church, all the agencies committed to us were assigned us without any effort on our part to possess them, or knowledge that such a disposition of them was proposed. At first we accepted them with reluctance, but have since come cordially into the arrangement. In the appointment of agents, nearly all the agencies in New Mexico were tendered to us, because our church had a mission among the Navajoes. The trust was accepted with much reluctance, because we knew many of them were the worst set of Indians to manage on the continent ; I refer more particularly to the Apaches ; but we accepted the trust. Nine agencies were tendered us. All have been supplied with the best men we could find, and if on trial it is found any are not the best men for the position, they are to be removed. In one or two instances changes have been made, not on account of character, but lack of adaptation. Five out of nine of the agents have been with tribes not upon any reservation, wandering tribes with whom they are not able to accomplish much in the way of education or civilization. This is particularly the case with the Apaches and the Uintah Valley agency. In the Indian Territory we have two missions ; the tribes are almost civilized, and the agents have not much to do ; many of the other tribes are well advanced. The past has been a trying year to most of our agents ; one of them, Mr. Miller, agent of the Navajoes, was killed by a party of Utes. In New Mexico we have two agents, but there are many reasons for discouragement. The agents went from the highest motives, but found the Indians wild rovers, and they find they can accomplish but little. In regard to the support of Indian agents, a year ago I was in a minority who said their salaries were large enough ; the agents think such a statement rank heresy. I will explain why I think so. The salary is \$1,500 per year. On inquiry I was informed that a place of residence was furnished and transportation to it was paid. We stated these facts to those whom we desired to appoint, but afterward ascertained that no transportation was allowed.\* There is a great inequality in this matter in regard to the houses for agents ; some have good houses, others none of any kind. I still think \$1,500, with a house and garden, as in Kansas, or places equally well situated, is a sufficient salary. Agents have said it was, and so I intended to say last year. In New Mexico our agents find a single room, and have to pay rent for it, and in this room in one case the agent's wife gathered the Indian children and tried to teach them something. So uncomfortable were the quarters, and so high was the

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\* Transportation is allowed to the agent, but not to his family.

price of living, that the agent soon gave up the position. At another agency there was no house, and the agent had to leave his family two hundred miles away, losing the influence and example of a Christian home to the agency. The Secretary of the Interior thinks this inequality ought to be remedied. We find it increasingly difficult to procure good men to fill these isolated positions. I hope the Board will take some action on this question; yet I still say, with all these defects, it is a larger support than we give our missionaries among the Indians, and if the salary is a large one, you tempt men not fitted, to apply for these positions. When it is practicable, I think it is wise to have the agent and missionary of the same denomination; but when there are two or three missions on the same agency, it cannot be done. We had a mission for twenty years among the Omahas, and that agency, I think, ought to be in our hands. In New Mexico the Village Indians are peaceable; the Apaches and Navajoes are not. I do not think those Village Indians are in charge of any denomination. We have two teachers among them, at salaries of \$600 each, which we supplement. The Pueblo Indians have never been taught to read and write. Perhaps out of hundreds a dozen or score may read and write. A clergyman who endeavored to teach them was prevented. As regards teachers employed as missionaries, or imparting religious instruction, we do not ask any support. But, for schools separate from religious teaching, we think the Government ought to pay for such. Our board cannot erect buildings, and cannot get titles to lands on which to put them. We have urged the Government to put up buildings for schools, and give the use of them to the missionaries free, and save the board the expense of erecting buildings. We put up a building among the Kickapoos, which cost us many thousands of dollars. It was erected by permission of the Government, but it is all lost to us now. Impress the point that the Government ought to own and control the school-buildings. We have spent \$25,000 from the funds of our board during the past year, and are ready to sanction any necessary expense. We have tried to have schools in every place at which we have an agency. Among the Nez-Perçés there has been a great work of grace; a large number have been brought to the Saviour. Rev. Mr. Spaulding received a warm welcome, and his ministry is very successful. Our church is deeply interested in the new Indian policy. It is a great work the boards are doing, and in placing Christian men in charge of these agencies, the Government has done a great work. The people will stand up for any administration that will do justice to the Indians, and try and promote their welfare.

Commissioner BRUNOT. I will now call upon Mr. Welch, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to report.

Mr. WELCH. Eight agencies were assigned by Secretary Cox to our church. We did not want so many, and objected to it. Secretary Cox said it could not be changed. Devil's Lake was given to us, but as the Catholic Church had a mission there, we gave it to them. Lake Traverse was given to the Congregational Church, as it had a mission there. The Shoshone agency in Wyoming, the agent asked to be appointed to; his son, a noble boy, had been killed by Indians, and the parents wanted to do what they could for this people. Charges were made against him, but the chairman of the Board investigated them, and the charges were not sustained. The Shoshones are a roving people, tractable and easily managed. The Red Cloud Indians have been in our care only about one year. They were in a bad condition when Dr. Daniels took charge of them. He hopes soon to have them farming. One of the fiercest warriors, Red Dog, has, since his visit to the East, been on a peace mis-



sion to his wilder brothers, and Red Cloud wrote a letter counseling peace. Whisky is the source of much evil. A gentleman wrote me that a murder which was committed a short time ago was directly the result of whisky. If we would keep whisky from the Indians, it must be kept from the Government traders.

The report from the wilder Sioux is very favorable. The Upper Brulé agency, under Spotted Tail, Agent Risley writes very favorably of. Under the orders no employé or other white man is allowed on the reservation living with an Indian woman, unless married in the regular church manner. All those Indians will, we hope, be upon the reservation by spring. These Indians made a very favorable impression when in the East during the past summer. Spotted Tail said, when looking around, "Why are these people so happy?" and told his people they must be Christians if they would do well. They are asking for churches and schools among them. Our church is conservative. We accepted the trust unwillingly, but we now go into it with enthusiasm. The last act of our church was the consecration of a bishop to go among these people.

Farther up the Missouri is the Cheyenne River agency. It is occupied by wild, roving Indians. The Poncas are imposed upon by these wilder Indians. When among these Poncas, in June, I found former warriors now peace-makers. They have erected over a hundred houses.

The missionaries have established homes at the little villages which they are forming. They were building houses when I was there, and are building much more freely now. Some of the men who were warriors, and were fiercest in the fight, are now settling down and becoming civilized. There are others, who are very bad Indians, who come in, and occasionally commit murder and other depredations; and when officers have gone out alone or in small hunting parties, one or two of them have been killed. One was seriously wounded, lately; but the progress of that agency has been such as to thoroughly encourage us, not because of any rapid change, for we suppose that it may take, perhaps, one-tenth part of the time to civilize Indians that it did to civilize our own race; but we are encouraged greatly as to the final result. We are willing to go on slowly, and I must confess that some of the men who had been leaders in the fight, for instance Little Swan, and other men of that character, in their conference with me seemed to be entirely reasonable. They made no single point that was not tenable, and appeared to talk like rational and reasonable men. The difficulties they meet with are very great indeed. The Sioux Indians have been put on land on which a white farmer could not live. It is an alkalic soil, incapable of irrigation, subject not only to the grasshoppers, but to very great droughts; and hence it is a very great question what can be done. Fortunately, they are a little encouraged in consequence of the peace-commission treaty concluded four years ago. All the Indians who settled on that reservation are entitled to a pair of oxen and to a cow; and after my return, the Secretary of the Interior, after the conference with the Indians, promised to fulfill that part of the treaty stipulations. It had never been offered to them before, and they said that the agents never had claimed it. The Department wrote six weeks since to obtain the names of all the Indians on the Grand River, and all who come in under that treaty, and they have agreed to furnish a pair of oxen and a cow to each. That will encourage these Indians very much. They are much gratified, and are now building houses rapidly.

The next agency below that is the Pawnee, with several agencies on the opposite side of the river in which are the Lower Brulés. There they are

being fed, &c., but seem to be more backward in receiving education and in improvements than those above, and less disposed to build houses. We have just sent two noble young men as missionaries, and three ladies experienced in that work, and they are now so occupied. One of the ladies has been there four months, has opened a school, and has been very successful indeed. On the opposite bank of the river with the Lower Brulé we have a missionary, a teacher, and two ladies. All of them have been experienced before with the Indians lower down the river. They will have to get hold by slow process of the Lower Brulés, who are quite intelligent, but have imbibed from their medicine-men natural prejudices against Christianity; but by thorough kindness, we find no difficulty in overcoming that.

As we descend the river, coming to the Yankton reservation, the progress has been very encouraging indeed. There, four years ago, we could not hire a man to carry a bucket of water. The Sioux were the laborers. They came up and harvested for these people, who looked at them entirely as beneath them. Then, no man labored. You could see the women pack the wood on their backs, struggling along, and now, I think, there are nearly two hundred wagons in which you can see men and their wives riding, as you would observe the farmer and his wife riding in our eastern sections. They are building many houses; they have three chapels and school-houses which are very well attended, and Christianity, and of course civilization, have taken deep hold upon them. They are, however, discouraged by reason of the nature of their soil. They have to go to the Missouri River for all their water, not being able to dig wells deep enough to get anything but alkali water. They depend entirely upon the rains, there being no way of irrigating. They may be able to have wheat, but the corn crop is very uncertain. These Yanktons have taken hold of their work; labor is dignified among them; the marriage rite is being observed; many of them are united according to the rites of Christianity; many chiefs have put away all but one wife, and I cannot conceive of the influence of Christianity being exerted more rapidly than it is there. The board have a man there, Mr. Williams, a very excellent man, and the mission there, also, is very successful indeed. Nearly all the chiefs are under decided Christian influence. There is only one whom I considered a heathen chief, and whom I dined with at the agency with Bishop Whipple, other Indians being there. They all adopted the habits of civilization at the table, and behaved as other civilized men. A few of the young men we have sent down to Nebraska College for education. At the end of the first year the principal of that college gave them the highest premium of any there, especially for biblical learning. They had certificates of the highest character. When they returned, the influence of one of them was so great, that one of the chiefs of the tribe, feeling that it was his only hope, and the hope of his people, has adopted civilized life, has become a Christian man, came to live in the mission-house for awhile, and was entirely willing to begin by sweeping, dusting, splitting wood, &c., as white people do. He is now at the college, has been there about two months, and we have most excellent accounts of him. This is the first time we have had a chief who has been willing to go away from his tribe for the purpose of being educated. Several of the other chiefs are Christian men, and exert a powerful influence over the others. They keep them from following their roving habits, from hunting and visiting their neighbors, after the annuity goods are distributed in the fall; I persuade them to get their crops in, and generally benefit their condition.



Ordinarily, these Indians take a tramp up the river, and communicate to the principal tribes what advantages they have had from the presentation of the annuities, those tribes in turn coming down and visiting them. A large delegation came on my second visit, and they were much delighted. One of these wild men came down, said his nephew had been very ill indeed, and that the ladies had been extremely kind to him; so that he thought Christianity was "good medicine," and he was going to recommend it to his people. One of the set, an extremely wild fellow, would shake hands with none of us, but sat in the corner as sullenly as possible. He was afraid of losing caste with his people, for you must understand that the wild Indians, the moment they adopt civilized life, lose caste with the others, and some men, like Spotted Tail, are adroit enough to keep up that illusion among their tribes. When Spotted Tail was here in Washington, new suits of clothing were given to almost all his party. When going down to visit the President, he told the men to put on their new suits. They asked him if he was going to put his on. He said "That is no business of yours." Well, these others draped themselves like gentlemen, in black, but he went in a red blanket. And Spotted Tail would go back and say that he did not take off his blanket. It was to obtain an influence with the other men. You can hardly understand that, when they get back, they lose caste.

We see everything to encourage us if we persevere—if the Government can remain stable, and sustain us in our operations. Our church, since we were here last, must have spent some thirty or forty thousand dollars, and yet that is very little in comparison to what we see ought to be done. The schools have been very successful.

The other reservation is just on the very border of the great Sioux territory. It is a small tribe of thoroughly heathen people, and until quite lately had been utterly neglected. We have had a missionary there for more than a year now, and have three ladies. I have visited them this season. The change wrought has been marvelous. Many of them dress like civilized beings, and are manifesting a very great disposition for civilization. We also endeavor, through the aid of the ladies, to Christianize and civilize the women. We not only have our schools and Sunday-schools, but our mothers' meetings, where the women are taught to cut out and fit work. They appear to manifest great aptitude for it, and a great desire to improve. The little accounts which are written of these meetings, showing how pleased the women were when they first fitted a dress for their children, and that they manifested in other ways their delight at improvement in housekeeping, are deeply interesting. I will not, however, detain you on that point.

The next mission is that of the Santee; and as Bishop Whipple is here, I will ask him to add a word or two, because I induced him to go there with me last October. He saw these creatures in Minnesota, where they were wild men, and I thought I would like to have him look at them in their present condition, so that he could see the improvement which had been made in them since they had left Minnesota.

Bishop WHIPPLE. Mr. Chairman, I do not desire to detain you but a very few moments; but there are two or three matters which I am very desirous to bring before your Board.

In the first place, I would say that my wildest dream of what might be done for the Indians has been accomplished. I had never conceived in my heart that a work could be done for the Indians equal to that which has been done within the last ten years, and more especially during the last four years in which we have had the co-operation of a Christian Government. I have taken pains to trace the history of the



breaking up of the Indian missions in the past, and I could bring the evidence, in very many instances, of missions which have been broken up, through the influence of parties who represented the American Government directly or indirectly; and I am very sorry to say that, when I first visited these Indians of Minnesota, in two or three instances I had individuals ask me whether the Jesus that I had told them about was the Jesus that my white brothers spoke to when they were angry and drunk, at the agency; and when I urged the sanctity of Christian marriage invariably the old chiefs told me in private, that the penalty for violation of the seventh commandment was that the woman's nose should be bitten off; that was the penalty of their fathers, and all the corruption and degradation had come from men of the white race. They very often said to me, "We have never made fire-water. We do not know how to make it. It is your white brothers; they who worship the Great Spirit; they have brought this here. Go back and tell that story to your brothers."

In every single instance where crime has dragged this poor and wretched people down to death and degradation, it could be at once laid at the door of our own white race.

But there were two or three things that encouraged me. The first was, that if this was a dying race there was but one question: Are they to live beyond the grave? And the very fact that they were a perishing race was but the very reason why a Christian movement should be made in earnest to try and bring to them the blessings of the gospel of Christ; and another fact was this, that if they were a heathen people, there were no such awful revelations to impart among them as there were in heathen civilization to whom the gospel was carried by the apostles. There are no such records in the Indian country as you can find in Pompeii and Herculaneum. I found that everywhere, the moment they were impressed with the fact that your errand was one of mercy and love, they gave you their respect and reverence; and they have always been true to their plighted faith. I say now, that as far as my own conviction goes, there is not a Christian body in the United States which can show such fruits and rewards for Christian labor as can be shown in the Indian missions among the people of the United States. It is true of our own body, and I believe it is true of all others, and it has seemed to me, at times, as if God had so richly rewarded us, that we might have the courage and bravery to endeavor to make atonement for that awful record which we have paid for in such terrible histories of massacre and blood.

There are two or three particular matters that I would like to bring before you.

The first is, it seems to me, that the moment the Government comes in contact with the heathen people, our first efforts should be to give to this movement individuality. They are the mere vassals, the bondmen of wandering chiefs, and so long as the Government makes its distribution through them, the Indians must of necessity be in subserviency to those agents. You can have no true independence or freedom until you give that man his position as a person in the eye of the Government, until you give him an individuality.

The second point is, we must have law. There is no use talking about that question. Our missions will be broken up, our efforts blasted, all our work destroyed, unless these people shall be recognized as the subjects of law, and law be given to them; I am not prepared to say in what form, but there are some very simple forms in which it might be done. The agent may be the stipendiary magistrate as in the Canadas.

He may have the power to administer law. Remember this, reservations are not subject to the law of State governments. It is United States property, and the Government holds it in trust for the Indians. Some officer must be there representing the United States Government. If the Government is not prepared to give us a United States judge, residing in the Indian country, it seems to me we may ask that the agent may be clothed with the functions of a stipendiary magistrate, and that either the chief or some worthy Indian men, shall be sworn in as constables, or be made deputy United States marshals. As I said before, the absence of law in the Indian country demoralizes the Indians; and it gives to every white man contiguous to the reservation, the feeling that they are mere vermin, who can be exterminated at will; that the Government does not regard them as worthy of consideration.

Another point with reference to the employes. The remark has been made by one or two gentlemen, that we are attempting to undo the wrongs of two hundred years. There is not a single body of Indians in this country, if their history was known, whom we have not wronged. If any one of you will go through the records and find out how often faith has been violated, you will be perfectly appalled, and you will wonder how people who believe in a God, have dared to breast His anger and indignation as we have done. The attempt to atone this wrong is an expensive business; there is no question about that. Those Indians to whom my friend Mr. Welch referred, those Cheyenne chiefs up at that agency, have had their relatives and kindred murdered in the Chevington massacre, of which General Sherman, when he wrote the report, simply said it would have disgraced any savage tribe in the interior of Africa, and the testimony in regard to which was so vile, that Congress suppressed it. It is there in the records of the Department, and I venture to say that your cheek will grow pale, as it never grew before, if you will take the trouble to read it.

To show you what kindness will do after long effort, I will relate a single instance. One of these very men who has maintained this position of hostility for months, was evidently watching the agent very closely to see whether he was a man who spoke the truth. At last the agent heard that that man's son was dying of pneumonia. He knew it was the custom of these Indians to give away everything they had whenever they lost a near friend; and this Indian gave away his blanket, gun, dogs, everything that he had, and scarified his body until he bled from every pore, and then sat down at the side of his dead son. The agent sent him a coffin, a blanket, and a kind message, and said to the one who carried the message, "Give my message to him and tell him how sad I am for him, and that I have sent him this coffin that he might bury his son. His white brother pities him. If he can help him he will be glad to do so." The Indian sat silent for two hours, but at last arose and said "The white man has-made my heart like a woman's. I shall bury my dead son beside his door. I am going to live beside the agency; and I will be the white man's friend forever." It is a simple instance to illustrate what kindness will do. Now, as I said before, it is very expensive for us to attempt to atone for these wrongs; and here we meet with a practical difficulty to this new policy. Some gentleman said, very truly, that the head of the Government and the head of the Indians were on the interpreter's shoulders, and I tell you, gentlemen, that I have known many instances of transactions where both parties were in entire ignorance, and where the whole negotiations had been carried on in the interest of certain traders. Now the Government wishes us to pay at these agencies, \$400 for an interpreter, and that is all. So

a Christian blacksmith and a Christian carpenter can have four or five hundred dollars a year. What are we to do? I know the gentleman said, and I respect the words very much of my brother who made the remark, that an agent ought to go with a spirit of self-sacrifice. *I only wish we could find the men.* But I doubt whether you can find intelligent, clear-headed, business men; men who are in the depths of their heart philanthropists; men fitted to guide a heathen people out of darkness into civilization, unless you can guarantee at least that these men shall have a support for themselves and their families.

But I am not prepared to say that I think it is best for us to ask the Government to supplement these salaries and increase them. I believe there is to be a very fierce conflict. The Indian ring are not killed. The influences that have been heretofore dragging these men down to death are simply in abeyance. They are merely waiting for us to lose heart, and you will find that the whole great Indian ring will at once reassert its force. Now, as so much must be asked for, and we must demand money to give these men food and clothing, and seed and cattle, it seems to me—and I say it to our own religious bodies, for I have no right to say it to others—I believe, as Christian men, it is the duty of our church to say to any man that goes there, that we will take care of him. If the Government is willing to pay four hundred dollars for a Christian blacksmith, and it takes a thousand dollars, I do not know any reason why we, as Christian men, should not give the rest. My own mind is very clear on another matter. I believe that the spiritual side of the work for the Indians will be utterly destroyed with any religious body which takes the funds for civilization and uses them in connection with this Christian work. They may use them for schools, or in any way that shall be for the benefit of the Indians; but when you take this money and use it for the support of your ministry, I believe the Indians will at once set these clergymen down in this category, and say: “You come, as all other white men, to live upon our money. That is your only idea.” I think, therefore, it is wise to keep these two lines of work entirely separate and distinct. Whatever money the Government gives for their civilization, give it to them, and see that it is expended, and expended faithfully; and if we have other work, let us, as Christian men, give for it ourselves, because we are giving it for our love of Him who is the friend of the helpless.

One word with reference to the titles. My friend Mr. King, of New York, said that these men were not citizens. I do not mean to lay any charges against the Government, but it does seem to me we have been playing “hide-and-go-seek” here. When it is for our convenience to recognize these heathen men as an independent nation, when we desire to purchase their lands, we recognize them as such and make a bargain with them as an independent nation; we pledge the faith of the Government to them as an independent people; and our Senate, as the treaty-making power, makes a treaty; the President ratifies it; and in that treaty we specify that every Indian shall receive a good and sufficient title to eighty acres of land when he has complied with certain conditions. And the Supreme Court of the United States has recognized that the Indian has a possessory right to the soil, and a possessory right that must be extinguished in some way. That has been decided several times. But right here comes the question when is the Government to carry out this policy. The Indian is given a certain certificate. I believe it is done in good faith. But the Indians are advised, by those who are no friends to this policy, that that title is not a good title, and the Indians have no faith in Government papers. I



have a body of Indians in Minnesota, friends of mine, who received the thanks of the Department because they came down in a body and offered their services to a fort, in the time of the massacre, and saved that northern border from desolation. The Secretary of the Interior took pains to pay a visit to them at that time, and returned his thanks to them. In three separate treaties there is a clause that, on account of their signal good behavior, they shall not be removed so long as they remain the friends of the whites. For five years all the pressure that could be brought has been brought to compel these Indians to go; and the agent of the Indians will tell you that that is the case now—that they are mere tenants at will, and the Government says they must be removed. This is the feeling in the Indian country.

I simply call attention to these three facts: In the first place, you must recognize individuality. A man never is a man until he has something he can call a home. You cannot make a Christian home out of an Indian tepé. Secondly, he must have law and protection; and, thirdly, we are bound to carry out what we promised to give him—a title to the soil.

Mr. KING. I agree with the bishop, and that is what I inquired about—how title was to be secured.

Rev. S. B. TREAT. Mr. Chairman, we have but one agency under our care—the one referred to by Mr. Welch. I have endeavored to keep my eye upon it during the year, and, as far as I know, the duties of the agent have been well performed. His influence there is good, and the condition of these Indians is exceedingly hopeful. We have, in connection with that reservation at Lake Traverse, and with our other stations, seven churches, five hundred and sixty communicants, six ordained Indians, four licensed preachers, and other helpers that I need not mention. Our plan is to work out from the stations, which we occupy, among other tribes not yet reached. We have visited the Santee agency during the year, as others have done, and I most fully confirm the statements which have been made in regard to it.

One fact has not been brought out distinctly, or, at least, not very distinctly, and that is, that these Indians of the Santee agency were almost all of them, in 1862, absolute pagans. The head men were involved in that terrible massacre; and yet, when I was there, I saw those connected with our mission, particularly the men, dressed as we are; the women dressed like white women, except that they did not seem to understand perfectly the fashions. They were intelligent, and I spoke to a large meeting of them. They were well fitted for work, and everything about them seemed to be exceedingly hopeful. We are establishing an industrial school there for girls and women, and we hope that much good may be accomplished by it. Industrial instruction is given on the reservation. Last year, the chairman will remember, I made a statement in regard to the Indians at Pawnee Grove. They went out as a colony from the Santee agency; broke loose from their tribe, and gave up all their tribal advantages. They had not money enough, I suppose, to pay the office-fees for their titles. They were without implements of agriculture. They had almost nothing at all. They have received no aid from the United States Government, and no assistance, of course, from other tribes; and yet I have this statement in my hand to show what they have been doing. There are among them seventy-seven men, one hundred and three women, seventy-six children, making in all two hundred and fifty-six. They have fifty-eight claims—the fees all paid for. They have built fifty-three log-houses themselves, and many stables; and, during the past year, they

have raised twenty-nine hundred bushels of corn, twenty-two hundred bushels of potatoes, and have cut two hundred and eighty tons of hay by themselves, without help from the United States Government, or from the people of their tribe. This, to me, is one of the most encouraging facts which we have had in regard to the Indians, and I will say that I am a firm believer in their capacity for civilization. I have not the least doubt of it. I think, on the whole, as compared with other races, they may be expected to receive civilization as soon as others, on an average; but then I do beg leave to say, after having been connected twenty-five years with this Indian work, that *the strong lever and the long lever is the gospel of Christ*. Schools are useful—they are indispensable; but *first* the gospel, and let the schools come to complete the work which the gospel undertakes.

I have been troubled for a great many years with this matter of lawlessness. Before the day of Bishop Whipple among the Minnesota Indians, I discussed the matter with our missionaries. It seemed to be then, as it has seemed since, one of the great obstacles—this perfect lawlessness of the Indians among themselves; and our Government, regarding them as wards—doing nothing at all to arrest these disturbances.

Dr. FERRIS. We have five agencies, all in Arizona. The first is that of the Pimos and Maricopas, which contains from four to six thousand Indians. These statistics as to population are estimated. There are no perfectly trustworthy returns as to the number of Indians upon these reservations. We have the Colorado River reservation, which has been estimated at from three to five thousand Indians. There are the Mohave Apaches, and some two or three smaller bodies of men whose names I cannot give without having a report of the Indian commission. The Camp Verde reservation has upon it somewhere from one to two thousand Apaches, and the Camp Grant reservation has about twelve hundred Apaches. Camp Apache has upon it at present about eighteen hundred Apaches. The Pimos and Maricopas have two schools. These schools have been organized since we were here a year ago. The attendance is now more regular than it was a year ago. I looked over the record of last year, and found that the attendance ran from nothing to eighty. There were some two or three or four days during the year of regular school-days when there were no children present, either boys or girls. Then again the attendance has been as high as eighty. The attendance during the latter part of the year has been very much more regular than it was at the beginning, and is becoming more and more steady. These Pimos and Maricopas have been an agricultural and manufacturing people; that is, manufacturing some articles for their own use, for some time, and they have been a settled people, attached to the reservation, and attached to the lands they were cultivating. But they are becoming unsettled and are being driven into habits somewhat nomadic, for this reason. They are on the Gila River, and the whites have settled upon the forks of the river above them, and almost entirely cut off their supply of water, so that they are compelled to go over to the Salt River country in order to raise their crops. When they got there, in the Salt River country, the people there thought, "O, we can steal the horses and cattle the Pimos may bring along with them; they are outside of their reservation, and we can do just as we please;" and they do steal them. Then the Pimos try to reclaim them or they try to steal somebody else's horses to make up for what they have lost; and for the first time in the history of these Indians, there has been trouble between them and the whites. They have been friends with the

whites, and have boasted that there has never been a conflict between them and the white man in their entire history.

Now, if these Indians were white men, if they were citizens as we are, there could be a suit brought in the proper court to compel the white men who have settled on the river above them, to repay to them whatever damage they have suffered from the diversion of the water, or to compel these white men to stop the wasting of the water; for, as I understand, they have dug an irrigating canal from the Gila River, and run the water through their lands, and afterwards they do not care what becomes of it, or which way the water goes; the Indians get none of it. There is no one but the United States Government to protect these Indians. They have been placed on that reservation by our action, and we are bound to look after them. If the bread is taken out of their mouths, if the supply of water is cut away from them, then the Government of the United States ought to see that they are put somewhere else where they can cultivate the soil, and where there is a supply of water; or else they ought to buy out these white settlers, or make them change their location, in order that these Indians may be able to cultivate their lands. The Pimos and Maricopas are running down now, day after day, under these influences. I suppose there was not a more promising field among the Indians in all the United States than in these two tribes, but it is becoming a very difficult one, simply from the action of the whites, who show not the slightest regard for the rights, or for the preservation of the rights, of these Indians. Whatever is necessary to be done to move the Pimos and Maricopas, either to some location in Arizona or to the Indian Territory, they are very willing should be done, and they are all ready to go to the Indian Territory, and would like to go. They wish to avoid a conflict if it is possible, and if they could be transferred to the Indian Territory it would please the chiefs of these tribes.

On the Colorado River agency one school has been begun recently, but there is as yet no report of any consequence from it. The Indians there were very indolent and very shiftless. They had been drawing their support almost entirely from the Government, and one of the first things to be done with them was to induce them to earn their own living. They were, I suppose, about as indolent a body of Indians as could be found in the country, perfectly peaceful, perfectly good-natured, and just as lazy and indisposed to do anything for themselves as they were peaceful. But at last, we have the report from Dr. Tonner, the very excellent agent stationed there, that they are now at work. An irrigating canal has been dug that supplies them with water; and he says that even the chiefs come to him and ask him to go off in this direction and in that, to see what they have been doing with their own hands. We are happy to report that the Indians of the Colorado River agency are beginning to earn their own support. The Apaches upon Camp Verde have been chastised by the United States troops, I believe, because they were accused of having a part in the Weckenburg stage massacre.

General HOWARD. That was at Date Creek.

Dr. FERRIS. They have got the two together, then. The Indians were driven from the reservation by this chastisement, but we have received letters now, within the last two weeks, stating that they are returning. The agent wrote at one time that he was afraid they never would come back. I think it is a very doubtful thing, from what I have seen about it, whether they had any part whatsoever in that stage massacre. I understood that the clothing of the woman in that stage was



found in the possession of whites and Americans off in another direction, and I think that was clear and distinct testimony at the time; and why it happens that these persons are to be chastised for that stage massacre I cannot understand. There is no doubt, however, that they have been guilty of a great deal of villainy, and perhaps the punishment which has been administered to them has been just, and may be salutary. They have, however, been off the reservation pretty much the whole year, and the agent has been waiting for them to return.

In regard to the Camp Grant agency, we have to report that the agent whom we had sent out there has been removed. He was a gentleman very highly recommended to us, and as far as we know is an excellent man, and one who has maintained a consistent Christian character in frontier life in Wyoming Territory, and who had experience in dealing with Indians; but, as far as we can judge, he was imprudent. Either by his orders or by the orders of a squad of soldiers who were with him, a party of Indians were fired upon who had among them some Indians who ought to have been arrested. That party consisted, to a considerable extent, of captains of these Apaches. It destroyed the confidence of the Indians at Camp Grant in this agent. When their confidence was gone it was necessary for him to be removed. We have no question but that it was perfectly right to remove Mr. Jacobs from Camp Grant, but whether he was to blame for the loss of confidence or for what was done, or whether the officer in command of the squad of soldiers was to blame, we have no knowledge. We have just sent out a new man to Camp Grant who, we hope, will do well. He has this great advantage, that he is the friend of Lieutenant Whitman, whom the Apaches at Camp Grant have much confidence in, and he will take to them a letter from Lieutenant Whitman recommending him. This Camp Grant reservation is very unhealthy. The Indians are dying off, and it is a place where white men say they cannot remain unless they are soaked with whiskey to keep off fever and ague. I expect myself that a white man cannot remain for any length of time without using some antidote for the fever. These Apaches at Camp Grant, we think, ought to be removed. They can be removed to the White Mountain reservation, which is large enough to accommodate all the Apaches in Arizona. The Camp Apache reservation has just received an agent. We have been trying to send out a proper man. It is a large reservation, and the intention of the Government is to gather all the Apaches in the Territory on that location in the course of time, so that we have been rather slow about selecting a man. We wished to get as good a man as we could, as he was likely to have a very large charge after a while, and I would say a little in regard to that directly. A good man has just reached that field, and our work there may be regarded as new, begun within the last month or two. There have been two occurrences in connection with our part of this work during the past year that it would be proper to notice. In the first place, a United States commissioner has been sent out to the Territory, General Howard, accompanied by some gentlemen, and we have to report that this commission has been attended with very happy results. It has proved to be an excellent way of managing these difficulties that occur between the Indians and the whites. General Howard's mission made a fine impression upon the Apaches, as we know, and it has made a very considerable impression upon the whites of Arizona; though, of course, there is a great deal of abuse heaped upon the General's head by the papers of Arizona, because he averted an Indian war. It is proper, I suppose, to notice here that there was every

prospect of a general Indian war in Arizona Territory. That has been prevented, and I suppose that there has been saved to the United States Government by this mission, and by the Christian agents on the ground, somewhere from five to ten millions of dollars this last year by averting an Indian war in Arizona. There has probably been almost enough of money saved in Arizona to meet all the Indian appropriations; for war there would have been very expensive. The transportation is exceedingly long, and I presume if General Howard had not gone there, and if there had not been agents of the character of the men who were on the spot, there would have been a fierce war in that Territory, which would have cost this Government, before it was settled, certainly somewhere near ten millions of dollars, and perhaps double that. And that is an item worth regarding here to-day, as there has been something said about expenses. I presume the money has all been saved, not by our denomination, but by this policy of the Government this last year in Arizona. The chiefs of the Apaches and some other tribes were brought here to the East by General Howard, and that has proved a fine matter in every respect. It has had an excellent effect on the Indians. It has had an excellent effect upon gentlemen here in the East. These Indians met with our board, and with some prominent gentlemen of our church, such as we could get together at that time of the year, it being in the very hot weather of last July. It was the only time, however, that the Indians could be brought on, and they were perfectly free, evidently, to say just what they pleased and just what they wanted. With the exception of a representative of a single tribe, I think every one of them said most emphatically, "We desire schools, we wish to have our children taught, we wish to become such people as you are, and we wish to have peace." They were unanimous in that, that they had a great desire for peace, and had no more desire for conflict and bloodshed. The effect upon gentlemen here was very excellent. We had these gentlemen come in our rooms in New York. Then we had a Sabbath evening meeting in the church on the corner of Twenty-first street and Fifth avenue which was just as full as it could hold; people not only occupying all the seats but standing up. More, perhaps, might have stood in the aisles near the pulpit, but the aisles in the rear of the church were filled with people standing up, and every seat was occupied. A large number of gentlemen of character and influence were present that night. The Indians spoke, and General Howard made, of course, an admirable address. Now, I know that there were many persons there who, by their political affinities, were opposed to this policy—not exactly opposed to it, but who rather questioned it. I know there were gentlemen present in our rooms when we had a meeting with the Indians who were strong democrats, and who, while they would do nothing to oppose this policy, and nothing to hinder it, at the same time questioned very much as to whether it was the right thing to do; and the visit of the Indians to New York I know made a good many conversions. One or two of these gentlemen have said to me since, "We are ready to do now anything that may be necessary in order to carry out this policy of the Government." And they have said, too, that no party could maintain its position in this country if it discarded or broke up the present policy in regard to the Indians. I have had that from the mouths of gentlemen who are birthright democrats, and whom I suppose will remain democrats as long as the party continues, and some of them have been leading men in their localities in the party. The congregation in the church on Fifth avenue we kept until about 10 o'clock that hot night; they remained after the



speeches were made, and I suppose that more than one-half of those who were there present came up and shook hands with the Indians. It had an excellent effect. We have heard from it two or three times since they went home, they saying that these white men, whom they understood were people of the best class in New York, had taken the trouble to remain that hot night after the long exercises, and came up to the platform to shake hands with them. Its effect upon the Indians has not yet been forgotten.

Dr. Lowrie has spoken about the pay of the agents. We have had no special difficulties, or no more difficulties than we have usually encountered in conducting Christian work in such a world as this, and have no reason to regard this work as one of any special difficulty. But there have been two matters which have been somewhat troublesome to manage. In the first place, as to the pay of the agents. Living is very expensive in Arizona, transportation is very expensive, and our agents all tell us that they cannot live on their salary. We hope there will be something done, whatever may be necessary, so that the agents may be able to draw certain stores from the United States Army stores, at the same rate that Army officers draw them, and then there will be no further difficulty. That, I think, will obviate the trouble altogether. If the agents can draw certain specified stores from the Army depots free of transportation, then I think the salary will be enough. It is right also to say that we have had some trouble from the fact that the superintendent, from the entire want of training in what we may call Christian benevolent work, has had no sympathy with our agents. He is an honest man as far as we know. He has bought for these agencies all supplies that were authorized, and he has bought them with the money that he was authorized to spend for them, and his administration as far as we know has been perfectly honest; but he utterly fails to co-operate with our agents in regard to education, or in regard to Christian work; and it was to be expected that he would fail. Well, one does not like to complain of the President of the United States, but we asked the President a year ago, and told him just how this thing was—we asked him to make a change, and he has not done so. If we could have such a superintendent as the brother who is here, he would be worth his weight in gold in Arizona, and he could do an amount of good that is almost incalculable.

Now, gentlemen, in regard to this camp Apache, I said that we had been slow in placing an agent there. We had a capital man; a man whose family has grown up so that they no longer need his care; a gentleman who, if he went out there, expected to expend more than he received; an excellent business man; a man who some years ago spent two years in Arizona, who knows something about the Territory, and has had a great deal to do with the Indians there. When the matter came before him and he understood who the superintendent was, he said, "I won't go; I know that I will get no prompt co-operation from him." We held on to him for some time. I urged him to go and try it, and not to make this objection until he had actually become involved in difficulties—until there had been a lack of co-operation. Said he, "If you will make that agency independent—take it out of the superintendency—I will go, but I will not go and put myself under him. This gentleman has had absolutely no education in regard to the benevolent work that we conduct. He knows nothing about it. An application for a teacher will lie in his desk from three to six months before he will send it forward. He does not feel the importance or the necessity of this work, and of prompt and earnest action, and yet in



all other respects he is a perfectly honest and trustworthy man, and we have not a word to say against him.

I am happy to say that the German Reformed Church at its last synod resolved to co-operate with us in this work, which will very much strengthen us, and the agent whom we have sent to Camp Apache is a member of that branch of the Reformed Church. I would like to say that this is the first agent that we have nominated from the Reformed Church. We have taken every agent nominated so far from other denominations, because they seemed to us to be better men, and because the men recommended to us had experience on the frontier and experience with the Indians, and had maintained consistent characters on the frontier.

The Arizona whites are very bitter, the most of them, against the Indians. But there is a good deal to be said in extenuation of their feeling. Our Roman Catholic friends have a few churches in Arizona, but beside those there are none. There are no Protestant churches in the entire Territory, as I understand, and except what is done by the Roman Catholics there is no preaching—I mean except that which is done by the Episcopal chapels at Prescott.

General HOWARD. The Methodists have a preacher at Phoenix, in the valley.

A MEMBER. There is another. Mr. Wheeler has just gone there. We had letters from him about a week ago announcing his arrival.

Mr. FERRIS, (resuming.) Yes; that may be so, but the state of society is just what you may expect under these circumstances. With churches and schools in Arizona, no doubt there will be a body of men created who will favor this policy very decidedly, and who will bring men of intelligence and men of character together.

I hope General Howard will be heard by this commission. As he has been somewhat abused, it is proper to say that we regard his course as that of a wise man; and we consider his services during the last summer as of the highest importance, and I wish I was able to write the thing up. I would like to write about that splendid act of Christian heroism that was performed by General Howard in going unattended and putting himself right into the hands of Cochise and his band. It was perfectly astonishing to the people of Arizona. They did not dream there was a man on earth who would do such a thing. At one time, I believe, while going among these people, General Howard started off, with nobody but one Indian boy, among men regarded as the most fierce, hostile, and implacable of the Indians of this Territory.

General HOWARD. Yes; and I never met from them a discourtesy.

Dr. BACKUS. Mr. President, I will be very brief in my statement, and some points that I regard as important I may be able to introduce this evening if you have a conference.

We have four agents, two in the Indian Territory, and two in Nevada. The agent of the Cherokees, representing eighteen thousand, is J. B. Jones, a son of the Rev. A. Jones, a missionary, who has grown up with them and is recognized as one of their citizens. He is also a graduate from a northern college. The agent for the Creeks is Professor Lyon, an educated man, of experience as a teacher and professor in a university or college; and, whatever may be said against these men, they are noble men and true, and we know it. They are true to the Indians and true to their interests in every way. We have not established denominational or mission schools either with the Cherokees or Creeks, but we have missionaries who favor these schools and

sympathize with these agencies. I think the Cherokees have not less than sixty schools, which average as well as the schools through the country forty-five years ago did. Some of the teachers are more competent than some teachers were through the State of New York at that time. The Delawares, who are now adopted citizens, and others occupying the Verdigris and Neosho Valleys, are establishing schools and building churches. We have appointed a superintendent and missionary there within the last few weeks, changing him from another place because of his experience. His duty is to encourage education, not denominational, but in these district schools, and also to preach the Gospel. So also the Creeks have perhaps a corresponding number of schools. They have some twelve or thirteen thousand people, and the Cherokees some eighteen thousand. They have also ministry labors; and the ministry are, perhaps, more in sympathy with our southern churches. In Nevada, we have the Walker River agency, representing six thousand Indians. Mr. C. A. Bateman is their agent. I have known him from childhood, and I have known his parents. I do not know as to his wisdom or practical ability to conduct such a mission of roving people; but, as far as I know, the Secretary of the Interior and all are well pleased with his work, and we have had no cause of complaint. Mr. J. W. Ingalls, who I am happy to say is present, I ask may be heard, either now or in the evening, and that he give us a few words for the Pi-Utes and their agency, representing perhaps about three thousand; they being in the eastern, and the Walker River the western part of Nevada. Mr. Ingalls has a hopeful future. He anticipates such change and such concentrating on reservations as shall secure cultivation of the soil, and such industry, education, and religious interests in the Indians, as will greatly improve them. I think he can speak for himself, and I think he has the sympathy of the Secretary of the Interior in his plans and purposes.

I will add that I have by correspondence, and in various ways, sought to secure such missionaries for the Territory as might give their protection and sympathy to teachers, whether in their own families or their friends. It is difficult to find teachers to go, and it is more difficult where the Indians roam around as they do in Nevada. We have not yet succeeded in doing anything more than to try to do for these Indians there. I would simply say that I sympathize very much with the remarks on the point of salaries. I think the gentlemen have spoken directly on that point, and I would say amen to what has been said.

We do not find the expenses of agencies the same, and have had the matter before us of adding to the salary and letting the agent do missionary service; but fearing it might complicate the thing, we have avoided it. We wish to have the agents sent out as employed by the Government, and therefore we have not done anything of that kind. But in Nevada the expense of living is much greater than even in the Indian Territory, and our agents must leave there unless we can help them. Mr. Jones occupies the house that our board erected for the missionary-house. He never has moved out since. We are told that we shall be paid rent, but we have heard nothing of it. He has occupied the house in his agency for the Government. We do not complain of that, but it is not providing a house for the agent. Other agents complain that provisions are not made for them. Mr. Jones says as far as we are concerned he is provided for. I wish to add further, that as far as I know not only every man in our board, but our friends through the society, and churches, and ministry, sympathize with this mission and its work.

Mr. INGALLS. Mr. Chairman, my connection with the service began

in August. I went to my field in Nevada, entirely a stranger in that section of the country. The headquarters are at Pioche, southeast of Salt Lake City some three hundred miles. It is a mining settlement, and there are but few Indians close to the headquarters. I immediately made preparations to visit the entire agency, that I might know the wants of the agency in making recommendations to the Department. I found, as Dr. Backus said, that nothing had been done for these Indians for the last three years in the way of education or civilization, save the distribution of a few supplies. Those properly attached to the agency number a little over three thousand. There are some eight hundred to a thousand lying over across the Colorado, which it is the purpose of the Government to attach to the agency, which will make it in the neighborhood of four thousand. Some estimate as high as six thousand, but I think the estimates of previous agents have been largely drawn on their imagination. I did not discover as many Indians as I expected to when I got there. I held two councils with the Indians—one at Saint George and the other at Saint Thomas. Saint George is a Mormon town of fifteen hundred inhabitants, and I found the Indians lying northeast and south of that settlement. There seemed to be a very bitter feeling existing between them and the Mormons from the fact that a portion of them were engaged in the massacre of Mountain Meadows. My agency comprises the three southern counties of Utah, the two southeastern counties of Nevada, and one northwestern county of Arizona, lying north of the Colorado River, covering a very large tract of country, taking about twelve hundred miles to reach the different bands. At the council held at Saint George I was very ably assisted by Major Powell, the explorer, who, I understand, is a friend of General Howard. He acted as my interpreter, as I did not feel safe in employing any white man around there. I had not confidence in the manner of the Mormons' interpretation, and being an utter stranger there, I wanted a man I could have confidence in. I therefore telegraphed to Major Powell, and he rode night and day for two nights and one day in order to meet me at the council. He delivered a very brief address to the Indians, fully indorsing my recommendations to them, and very largely assisted me while there. I held another council at Saint Thomas, in Southeast Nevada, and at both, I will just state, the expressions made by the Indians were to fully accede to the request of the Government as to education and civilization, and to abandon all their former habits of life. In fact, when I touched the matter of education and instruction in the mechanical arts and agriculture, there seemed to be a feeling almost of enthusiasm, and a desire to immediately have the work begun there. But there is no reservation, and it did not seem practicable to me to inaugurate any system. In fact there could not be any systematic labor without a reservation, and on account of the limited salary I had been compelled to leave my family in Illinois, my home, and support myself on what the Government allowed me there. I have presented my report to the Department, and since I have left there General Crook, of Arizona, has written to my deputy, urging the immediate removal of nearly a thousand of the Indians lying over in Arizona, who are Pi-Utes, to be attached to the agency, as it would shorten the war several months if done. All of my Indians I found extremely degraded and destitute, although willing to work if they could have proper incentives; but I found that the best lands were seized by the Mormons and the white settlers, and they were being crowded back into the mountains. The country is not too good or fertile in any event, the best of it, and the system of irrigation is limited. I therefore urged the immediate setting



apart of a tract of land in Southeast Nevada, or one in Southern Utah, the Nevada tract to be immediately provided for by an appropriation; and this met with the fullest indorsement of the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. I am now, at the request of the Department, waiting here to assist the committee in maturing a bill; and I can say this, that I have received courtesy and whole support from the Government in my labor thus far. While in this city I have conferred with General Eaton and Dr. Gregory, of Illinois, now here, to aid me in the selection of the right men as associates there in the management of the industrial school for these Indians. Major Powell, who has been among the Pi-Utes of Nevada and Arizona for the last two or three years, is preparing a grammar of their language, which will be of very great service to me in my work, and he most fully indorses the scheme presented to the Department. I can say that I enter upon the work with hope, and yet with fear, from the fact that I find opposition on the part of the white settlers there, and the lack of support on the part of the representatives of the Government. Some members of Congress, in referring to me personally after having met me, think perhaps I am an enthusiast in my work. I can only say that had they witnessed what I have of degradation and of destitution among these Indians, if they had the hearts that should be possessed by men, they would not be less earnest in presenting the needs of these people than I am. And yet when I meet some of them, Senators or Representatives, in seeking to remove their opposition to any additional reservation, I am called, perhaps, an honorable man, a worthy man, but then they think I am an enthusiast in the work.

General HOWARD. That is a very good name.

Mr. INGALLS. But I do desire to do something more, as I remarked to Commissioner Walker, than simply to distribute a few blankets and supplies, and to draw my salary from the Government. I left a very profitable business in Illinois to enter upon this work. I was educated in Massachusetts to go into the ministry. I was diverted from that into mercantile life. But to recover my health, and that I may do what is in the line of life-work to me, when this was presented to me I gave it an immediate and full consideration, have entered it, and I do hope, if God saves my life, that a year from to-day I will have specimens of the products of the Indians in the shape of cotton to show to you. There is a very rich salt mine in my agency that I have seized, and I hope there will be something more than a written report to be made to you as to the distribution of supplies and the drawing of my salary.

Mr. HAYDEN, of Philadelphia, (representing the Christian missionary convention.) I notice in the report that there are two agencies spoken of. What I have to say only has reference to one, which is that of Neah. E. M. Gibson is the Indian agent at that point. My last information from him is his third quarterly report, in which he states that he has a school under his charge. At that time there were some twenty pupils in regular attendance, and some others transiently attending. He reported that he was engaged in teaching the ordinary branches of reading, writing, and mathematics, and giving a great deal of attention to agriculture. Last spring he had in contemplation the planting of about thirty-five acres of potatoes and other vegetables, to educate the Indians and to familiarize them in the arts of civilization. He expresses the greatest confidence in the work of evangelizing the Indians; but, as a means of doing so, he thinks they should be first brought under the general principles of morality, and hence there are as yet no religious meetings held among them, attention being mainly

directed to instructing them in the common principles of morality. He has also sought to give greater sanctity to the marriage contract, and, as the result of his efforts, has recently received applications from three Indians for the solemnization of their marriage, as among the white people. He reports that his best friends and neighbors are among the Indians; that they indicate their entire confidence in him, and hence believes in the feasibility of this method of operating among them, and thus gaining an influence over them which will result in their Christianization and civilization.

Adjourned to 7.30 p. m.

JANUARY 15, 1872—7.30 p. m.

The meeting met pursuant to adjournment, and, upon motion of Mr. Welch, the Rev. George Whipple was appointed chairman and Mr. Cree secretary. After which prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Backus.

The CHAIRMAN. If I understand the reason for a different organization of the meeting this evening from the morning meeting, it is that the Board of Commissioners may be relieved from the responsibility of the more general suggestions that may come before the meeting than the Board itself can properly be called upon to consider. We are, then, organized this evening simply as an association of the friends of the Indian, representing the various Christian organizations with which we are connected, and with which the Government is co-operating in this work of the salvation of the Indians. While, then, we keep the general objects before us, we shall be more at liberty to make individual suggestions that shall come as representations from the various religious organizations of things that need to be remedied; all plans of operation in which the commissioners may be able to render the societies more effective co-operation; things which we may properly ask of the Government; things which we may properly ask of the people at large. In short, the whole subject is before us. Looking only to God for his guidance, we have a right this evening to consider anything that comprises the welfare of these our wards as well as the wards of the nation. I had designed, at an early stage of the meeting, or almost immediately, to call upon General Howard; but as he has just arrived, it may be proper to give him a breathing-spell before he is called to speak; and, if the meeting will permit me, I will say that Bishop Whipple expects to leave us in a few moments, and if he has a word for us, we would like to hear it.

Bishop WHIPPLE. Mr. Chairman, I certainly did not expect to say anything to-night; but there are two or three thoughts which I can throw out for the encouragement of those who are working for the helpless; and the first is this: There is not to be found on the face of the earth a heathen people who offer so great an encouragement to the work of Christian civilization. The North American Indian is the only heathen on the face of the earth who is not an idolater; who recognizes at once the fact that there is a Great Spirit; who believes in an unseen spirit-world, and who has an abiding faith in spirit influence. He also feels most keenly that he belongs to a common race. Very much of the hostility of the Indians of to-day is the hostility of despair. It is the terrible blow that a man who has nothing to hope for strikes toward his enemies, conscious of past wrongs. If I had the time to-night, I would like to tell you some of these histories. Perhaps a little incident that happened to myself will explain. I brought a body of chiefs to Philadelphia, some few years ago. My friend, Mr. Welch, took these Indians to visit the statue of William Penn. He told the Indians the



simple story of Penn's fidelity and love, and the Indians listened with upturned faces, as though it was a new revelation of the character of the white man. When Mr. Welch had finished, one of the chiefs asked, "Where are these Indians?" That told the whole story. I might explain it by saying that these Indians were our friends during the revolutionary war, and so faithful were they that Congress thanked them for their fidelity, and promised them that they never should be removed. But they were removed from Ohio; yet still, true to their plighted faith, they fought again for us under General Harrison, and again received a pledge that they never should be removed. They were removed again, and during our recent civil war the Government asked them to act as scouts, and their homes were destroyed in their absence, and very recently, under this Christian policy, they are receiving homes at the hands of the Government. It is the history of nearly all Indian tribes. The difficulties connected with this work I alluded to in the remarks I made to-day. I will mention one incident brought out by the agent of the Chippewas. He told you that two Indians were hung, under the suspicion of having murdered an Indian woman. Some wild Indians came to me last fall, quite a distance, to ask me some very unpleasant questions. They said very near the place where these Indians were supposed to have murdered a white woman—one of our own women, a very respectable woman, against whom no one could say a word, who had come down to this trading-post, and was outraged by brutal white men, and died under their hands. They complained to their agent, but he said it was none of his business. All the white men on the border and the Indians knew she had been murdered by the white men. Nothing was done, said the Indians. Now, this woman is missing; no one has seen her. The bones which were supposed to be hers were examined by a physician, after the Indians were hung, and were pronounced to be deer's bones. Now, said the Indians, why is this? How is it? You hang the Indians under suspicion of committing a crime, and allow your white people to go clear when they have committed a crime.

Now, I have no heart to speak of Indian wrongs. I will only say that there is a bright side to the picture; there is a silver lining to this cloud. The work we are conducting to-day is work for the Lord Jesus Christ. It is work for our Heavenly Father to help this poor, wretched race out of their darkness to the light of Christian civilization. And, as I said before, I do not believe that any Christian body has ever engaged in any work that has brought such blessed fruits as the work connected with the Indian missions. It may be said that these are heathen men, and very wretched men, but that is the mission of the gospel of Christ. There is another side to the question as well. I can understand how a man could believe that this world was governed by chance, and that might makes right, and that the weak must always give place to the strong, and should turn his back upon the helpless Indian; but I cannot understand how that could be done by any man who believes in a God, and who believes in the truth of God's law, "that whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap," and that when a Christian people sow robbery, they reap robbery, and when they sow murder, they reap murder.

In our own experience we have found out that it was far better for us to do this Christian work than to leave these poor people unprotected, for I believe that our own Sioux massacre in Minnesota was brought about by shameless robbery, that is to say, the Indians sold eight hundred thousand acres of their reservation, for which they never



received one solitary cent. It was absorbed in claims. They waited two months for annuities. Mad, exasperated, and angry, they said their children, some of them, would starve to death. A good part of these annuity moneys had been taken here at Washington, and used for schemes, and I believe that since that massacre this Government has expended more money in the Indian wars that grew out of that piece of robbery than all the moneys that all the Christian bodies in America have expended for missions since this continent was discovered. I have not a question about it. And I believe that this reward that has come to every Christian body which has attempted, in the spirit of Christ, to carry the gospel to these poor people, is a token of the love of our Father. And if we only have the faith to do the work, leaving the harvest to God, we shall see this wretched people, and see those that are now wandering in their darkness, sitting at the feet of the Savior, "clothed, and in their right mind."

General HOWARD. Gentlemen, I have listened to-day to the reports from the different societies with much interest, and many a time I have thought I would give a great deal if I could express the feelings of my heart as well as they have done. When Bishop Whipple was giving us those interesting incidents, I thought how similar (though he is in the far Northwest) are all his observations and experiences to those of the visitors to the extreme Southwest. The character of the Indians seems to be about the same; their habits the same; the treatment that they have received in the Southwest even worse. My first connection with the Indians in any way was in 1856 and 1857, when sent to Florida. I there became somewhat acquainted with the dealings of our people with them. The cry would come from Florida, "An Indian war!" when there were precious few of the Seminoles there and but very little indication of war. But the cry carried money, carried troops, carried supplies, into a comparatively desolate region. A great many volunteers were raised when I was in Florida. I was attached to the Ordnance Department, issued arms and ammunition, and so became personally acquainted with nearly all the volunteer officers, and with their methods of dealing; there was nothing which struck me, then, with more horror than the pursuit of the women and children as a part of the operations of that war. The idea prevails to-day in a large portion of our country that to carry on war with any success whatever against Indian tribes it is necessary to come upon them by surprise and to fire directly into camps containing women and children as well as men. That massacre of Camp Grant—that horrible massacre which created a shudder, not only throughout our country, but throughout the world, where so large a number of women and children were slain and so many children were carried away captives and sold into slavery, a large number of them still being in Mexico, and unrecovered by our Government—was only an instance that was told. Nearly every massacre had been of a similar character. It is the way that our people have dealt with the Indians.

Now, with reference to our Army, I would like to say a word or two. In Florida, I found the Army officers, as a general rule, friends of the Indians. The regular officers of the Army at large were comparatively friendly with them. I went down there without much feeling in the Indian's favor. But afterward I became deeply interested in making peace with them, and went out to do so. I know a great many other officers who felt in the same way, that it was a most hopeless service, the most thankless service they could render, to fight Indians. Many an Army officer on the frontier who is sent to do this work is under orders to do it, and he has a very difficult task indeed—an exceed-

ingly difficult and trying one. But what I refer to respecting the method of massacring the Indians is this: Where exasperated whites form volunteer forces, or where they spur on the soldiers to do the work for them, excesses always follow. This was very much the case with Arizona. It was reported that there was danger of a general war; and an appeal of horror came from there as though the people would all be murdered by the Apaches. Well, war did exist; the President was in great distress about it; the Secretary of the Interior particularly so; and it was difficult to tell whom to select to send out. My Bureau was then about being closed, and Mr. Delano sent for me. I had a long conversation with him, and he besought me to go to this country. I went out there for the purpose of making peace, if possible, or, at any rate, to look into the condition of affairs and make a report; to "make one more effort for peace," as the President wrote to General Schofield. I went to the commander of the military division, and then to the commander of the department, before doing anything special. I was also directed to go to the white inhabitants, Americans and Mexicans, and did so. I proceeded from village to village. Wherever I could collect them together I informed them concerning what the President desired. Now, in regard to the term "Apaches," I notice that the entire press is at fault, a wrong impression is existing. There are those who are called "Apaches" on the border of Texas. There are those who are called Apaches in the northeastern corner of Arizona. Now, how is it that these are all "Apaches" and yet do not speak the same language, and have no relationship the one with the other? Often it is said that General Crook is pursuing the "Apaches." How does that happen when you have made peace with them? I wish to explain what is meant by "Apaches." The answer is that the wild Mohaves, the Tontos, the Arrivipais, the Pinals, the Sierra Blancas, the Mimbres, the Chiricahuas, though spread over a vast section of country, have a similarity of language, and probably have at some time been united, but the bands now are isolated by hundreds of miles. I noticed in Dr. Ferris's report to-day that he spoke of the Mohave Apaches, and the Mohave Reservation on the Colorado River, between Arizona and California. Those are "Mohaves," and not real Mohave Apaches. The Indians who have escaped from these tribes, and have intermarried with the wild Apaches, are called *Mohave Apaches*, and any wild Mohave who has abandoned his tribe and gone off, is an Apache. So that all through the northern section the wild Indians of the reservation, many of them committing depredations, are called Apaches or Mohave Apaches. Coming down a little farther south, seventy or eighty miles, there is a section of country called the Tonto Basin. It is large, surrounded by mountains. In this Tonto Basin there is a tribe of Indians named Apaches, or "Tonto Apaches." They are sometimes called "Tontos." The word tonto means "fool."

The first Indians I tried to communicate with were these, and I wish to tell you an incident that occurred. Some years ago a physician in our service, not a Regular Army physician, but a contract one, was stationed at Fort Reno, in the Tonto Basin. It was a fort then occupied. The chief and his people came into the fort. A kind of peace was made with them. When there, this physician undertook to poison the chief, but did not succeed. His name was Del-Shè or Chel-Shè. He gave him a dose of arsenic—an overdose. The physician was exceedingly anxious to have it take effect; but he threw it up. He said, when he approached him the next day, "Amigo," and as he drew near he shot him through the body. This even did not kill him. The Indians think



he bears a charmed life, saying "a bullet went through him and did not kill him." This man has, of course, been full of treachery. He will bring in his people and pretend to do right, and the first that is known he is doing some mischief. I do not think we can expect much of him. I have given you a literal case. Since then he has been habitually treacherous; but there is something to be said about that on his side: These Indians, with himself, were brought into Fort McDowell. I visited Fort McDowell soon after they left. An order was issued by the department commander in consonance with the order from the military division and from Army headquarters, fixing the period beyond which Indians were to be treated as incorrigible, provided they were not on the reservation. As soon as that order was issued, almost immediately before the day arrived on which it was to be put in execution, every one of these Indians was gone from Fort McDowell. I found out how to account for it. It was simply this: When I first went to the Territory, a man was recommended to me as the best interpreter I could possibly have. I sent this interpreter out, and had with him one of the finest young officers we had in Arizona, with a body of soldiers, to try to communicate with this tribe. I tried myself in other ways, by smokes and signs, and did not succeed. It was not until long after that that I discovered the reason of failure. It was, simply, that this interpreter himself had killed many Apaches; that they hated him, and that they would give no sort of sign of their presence upon his approach. One of their chiefs told me afterward that he was a liar. When we made a peace at Camp Grant, he said to me, "What will this man do; how will he be able to get a living? His occupation is gone as soon as peace is made." That is the case with many interpreters. Go through that country and you will find plenty of self constituted interpreters who do the same thing. What I mean is, that these interpreters deceive the Indians. This man whom I first spoke of must have done so, because it was for the Indians' interest to remain there. They were to be fed, and treated kindly, but they disappeared immediately upon this order being given. They went outside to take the condition of those who were to be slain rather than to remain in and receive the benefits of the Government.

Another case of false interpretation occurred at Camp Verdi. It was told me again and again by witnesses whom I deem perfectly reliable, by officers of the Army and by citizens, that the interpreters actually told those Indians that war was to be made upon them that day, and every one of them fled. Again, there was another order issued to take them prisoners of war when they came in. This order was interpreted kindly; simply to feed them and take care of them as prisoners of war, with a view of restraining their liberty until peace was made with other tribes. It was not properly understood, and when executed away from the commanding general or the Indian agent, it was often cruelly executed, as at Camp Verdi, where the Indians were placed in irons. Put two or three Indians in irons, and no more will come in.

*Instances of bad faith.*—There are several instances in this Territory which show how little we keep faith. After visiting Fort McDowell, I went to Camp Grant, and succeeded, finally, after a long trial, in making a peace between the Papagos, Pi-Utes, Mexicans and others, and the Apaches at that post, and in that vicinity. We had a grand council at Camp Grant. It was one of the most trying times I ever had in my life. The Mexicans and Americans brought up some children that had been taken at the massacre. They brought them up very readily. I was surprised at it; but I found that they had been deceived; that they thought I really would be able to persuade the Indians to allow them to retain the



children. They wanted to bring them and have the arrangement made. I was entirely unable to make any such arrangement, and was obliged to retain them; and when I pronounced the decision to return them to the Indians, there was great anger evinced by the Mexicans and Americans, and it was thought that I was treacherous in the thing. After praying and thinking over the subject next day, I decided on taking an appeal from the district attorney, who took grounds against the children's return to the Indians, to the President of the United States. Entertaining that appeal, I decided that these children should be placed in the hands of the agent, and be retained at the agency-building until the President should decide. The President did decide that they should be returned to their tribe. It was an instance of justice which penetrated all the Indian reservations of that region for hundreds of miles around. Wherever I went, and wherever it was told that I actually took those who had been captured by the whites and returned them to the Indians, the faith and the heart of the Indians were with me. The Mojave Apaches are those at Camp Verdi. They are quite a homogeneous people, and can understand the Tontos. We succeeded in getting two hundred of the latter to come in. While at Camp Grant, one man came in who was represented to be a bad Indian. There are bad Indians among these people, but they are not *all* bad. There are really comparatively few who are incorrigible, or those who mean to do wrong; but there are, of course, bad Indians. Well, one of these really bad Indians, who had always been an enemy of the whites, came in to the reservation. The agent wished to arrest him, and asked the commander of the post to do so. The commander of the post sent an officer to make the arrest. The officer accordingly took a detachment and went out for that purpose, but did not succeed. He was in the sutler's store, and seeing the soldiers coming, he rushed out and went among the Tonto Apache Indians. The soldiers immediately levelled their pieces and fired into the crowd. The agent having asked for this, and the whole tribe knowing it, lost confidence in him on that account, and ever after he had to have a guard with him. He had no wrong intention in asking this assistance at all, although I think myself that it was exceedingly injudicious, but he never could recover the confidence of the Indians nor his former feeling of safety among them.

*Breaking the peace.*—The Mexicans and Americans made peace with the Apaches, at Camp Grant, and entered into solemn relations of peace. Who broke it first? Because a bad Indian came on the reservation it was no excuse for us to level our muskets into a group of innocent people. A great many things have occurred at that Camp Grant. I do not wonder that the Lord has cursed the place so that nobody can live there without fever. Five Indians were brought in at one time by a flag of truce, and when they were running across the parade-ground they were fired on and shot. Within a mile of that post a terrible massacre occurred. Coming in in the morning at daylight they slew women and children, yet not a particle of resistance was made. They were murdered in cold blood. "And you speak of these things as if there were no excuse?" There are plenty of excuses. We have heard of excuses for such things, and will hear them always. You say we do not speak of the horrors on the other side. We are all acquainted with the horrors on the other side; perfectly well acquainted with them. But go to the Indians in the right spirit; go to them in the way in which you are going to them now, and it will sooner or later stop these horrid massacres. It is strange that we cannot see it! For nearly twelve years in Arizona we have been at war. We have spent millions

and millions of money to destroy that portion of the Apaches south of the country I have been speaking of—the Rio-Bonito, the Mimbres, the Chiricalhuas not on reservations, and all that long line of tribes of Apaches that run down into Mexico. These are different from the others I have been describing to you. They are really a better class of people in many respects. I noticed in the tribes that I visited, absolutely no evidences of unchastity; they were quick and active; they looked better and brighter than any of the Indians who had been around the military posts. We have been nearly twelve years spending money to suppress them, and yet it could not be done. I tried every means rather than go myself into their fastnesses. I found there was no other way, and that I must go without escort and without soldiers, if I would communicate with them. The Indians advised me, when I had only six white men in my party and two Indians, when we came within a hundred miles of the camp of Cochise, to diminish my party still further. I diminished it to two besides myself. My party consisted of Captain Jefferds, Captain Sladen, and myself. Captain Jefferds was a citizen of the country in whom the Indians had confidence, and Captain Sladen was my aid. We went more than a hundred miles with this small party before we reached the camp of Cochise, and by great care, by showing signs with smokes, indicating our number, and going entirely around his camp before we entered, we made our way in through a narrow pass, through a deep cañon; a place where, if troops had undertaken to enter, every one of them could have been slain. In these mountains at that point a hundred men could hold at bay ten thousand. We came into one of the finest natural fortifications I ever saw in my life. While there communicating with Cochise under that oak tree, after talking with him a few minutes, he told me a history, and it is very much the same that the governor of Arizona has put forth to the country in print. It was a history of the wrongs of the Apaches. He says, "We treated the white man well; we had no trouble with him at all; we had no war until the Bascom massacre came." This young officer, Bascom, understood that Cochise's band had taken some children. He demanded these children. Cochise said they were not in his band. The officer disputed him and said that they were. He then took Cochise and three other Indians prisoners. Cochise made his way out and the others were left. Cochise went out, captured the neighboring station-man, a white man who had been his friend, put a rope around his neck, and in plain sight and hearing of Bascom told him that this man would be hung unless he surrendered his friends. Bascom hung his friends, and their bodies remained there for years. While out in that country, a man told me he had slept under the skeletons as the safest spot, because the Apaches would not go near that point. Cochise had the rope around this man's neck, attached it to the pommel of his saddle and choked the man to death. That was the beginning of the war. From that time on these Apaches have been murdering the people all the time, and we have been fighting them, and the people have told me again and again that the average was about ten to one; that the Indians had killed ten white men where we had succeeded in killing one Indian. I noticed in one of the papers of Arizona that it thanked God that so many more Indians were killed; but, notwithstanding the counting up, the number of white men, women, and children vastly exceeded them, and that is the sort of warfare that some men seem to like. Now, sometimes there is a little mistake about this. There are some men (and let me speak plainly) who love to make money out of anything—human life, human blood, human morals, or, from demoralization. Up



along the coast, they control quite a large trade. The more soldiers that go down below, the more trade they will have; and then, without any knowledge whatever, they will send telegrams from the coast above all over the land with reference to what is being done, and what is wanted down below. Now, when you go into that territory, there are a few men who want war, who can make money out of it. They have prospects of contracts, and their interests lie in that direction. But the vast majority of the people really are not in favor of war, but have a theory in their minds that by war they can conquer a peace, and that eventually they will have peace. They are in a sort of fever all the time; they fear the Indians will come in and massacre them; and then almost every family has had somebody killed from it. Those of us who do not live in such a place must remember this: that if we were there and under these influences we would feel and speak very much as they do. I think we ought to remember that to form a proper judgment with regard to these people. I do not say it is altogether right, but that is the feeling through the community with regard to it. They say, "First conquer the Indians and bring them into subjection; whip them, and then you can make men out of them." Now, a little observation of course will show that that is not so. Go to any tribe really whipped and you will find that tribe degraded; the women degraded by the white men; drunkenness and debauchery, laziness and worthlessness prevailing. I could name tribe after tribe of that kind, and in proportion as they have been in contact with a horrible class of white men in that proportion are they degraded and demoralized. But as you go further from it you find less of that sort of demoralization. These people say "why do you wish to bring the white man in contact with us." For mercy's sake let us bring some degree of Christian or chaste humanity into contact with them. But is not the case hopeless? How can they trust you after such conduct as this toward them? That incident of Bishop Whipple, related to-day, touched me very deeply. I could name to you very many such instances. It seems so easy to touch the heart of one of these men. Now, when I started from Washington I believed these Apaches to be the lowest of human beings. When I arrived at Camp Grant I found the boys quick to learn; they gathered around me instantly. I would undertake to teach them English, and they to teach me Apache. I had a little book, writing down their words. They were kind, showed no hostility, were glad to welcome me. I went among them in this spirit, wearing a pleasant face, without a pistol or any weapon but a jack-knife, and I found no difficulty. One night, in company with some gentlemen, we went out unarmed seven or eight miles, and sat with the chief, who regarded our visit as a special mark of favor. Another time I met an old man, and said to him, "You have a Father above; I have the same Father; therefore, we are brothers." He sat and looked into my face a moment, got up and walked across the room and gave me his hand. He was my strongest friend afterward. He is to-day working for peace. He came to Washington with me, and helped to bring others who were reluctant in the beginning. And this is the simple truth. I saw a man who came into Camp Grant, who was full of hatred, who was opposed to the policy of the President of the United States, who was opposed to anything that was respectable in the Christian faith, who was opposed to the Indians *per se*. I saw him there. I noticed the distrust of his countenance. I noticed the way in which he treated the interpreter. I noticed his whole bearing; and I also noticed the reciprocity of hate from these people. They have not learned to bless their enemies, and bless those



who curse them and despitefully use them and maltreat them. That must come in a different way. I do not say that I might not have been killed. I would not have blamed them particularly if they had killed me. But what was the truth? I staid eleven days in the camp of the wildest Indians in Arizona, and while I was there I sent out to the neighboring posts not to attack any parties unless they were committing depredations. I was instantly published as having reversed the order of the President of the United States, and as protecting these criminals through the country; but if they had assaulted one of these parties coming in, of course we would have been taken out and hung. We knew that. Now, all the time we were there Cochise himself was in a fever of anxiety on that subject, and kept speaking to us again and again about it. He said to me, "What will be done to the Indians coming in?" It was on that account that he was anxious. He became more and more attached to us, and he did not mean that anything belonging to us should be touched or that our lives should be put in jeopardy. Now, a good deal has been said about citizenship.

*The Papagos near Tucson.*—The Papagos in the vicinity of Tucson will be aided best by citizenship. They have not education. I was very much in favor of education preceding citizenship for the colored people in the beginning, but I found out afterward that citizenship is the lead-horse. It is absolutely necessary. Just as long as it was possible to prevent the freedmen from voting by burning down their school-houses that work was done. Even in the civilized State of Maryland twelve school-houses were burned to prevent them from learning; but the instant they attained citizenship that work ceased altogether. Now, give to these Papagos in the vicinity of Tucson citizenship, and you will be perfectly astonished to see what fine people they will become. They can have no *rights* now; they have none. They keep crowding them in all the time. Some of them tell me, with a great deal of feeling, that they are gradually losing their lands. They ask: "Cannot something be done?" The agent asks for a reservation in the vicinity of Tucson. But citizenship is better than a reservation. If we give them citizenship it will no longer be Papago, Papago, but it will be William Jones, John Brown, and so on, with all the rights of individual men.

With reference to the Pimas on the Gila, about everything was said by Dr. Ferris that was necessary. They have expressed a wish to go to the Indian country. But if they remain in Arizona, give them citizenship also. The people love citizens in Arizona, and like to have their votes. They get all the citizens they can. They count up nearly ten thousand within the limits of the Territory, I believe. But they will have more when they have these, and then, instead of being Pimas, as I said, they will be individual men and have individual rights. A great many will say they are not prepared for citizenship. They are prepared for the rights and responsibilities of citizens. If you give suffrage to them, they will be able to protect their own property, and they can be punished for their crimes. Citizens came in a body to us as we passed through Arizona on our way home. The Representative from Arizona was present, the superintendent of Indian affairs, the agent, and others, and these citizens begged and plead for troops to be brought to keep peace between the Pimas and the whites. It shows us that the feeling of hostility does not exist toward the "Apaches" alone, and this instance was sufficient to show it, and we did recommend earnestly to General Crook to send down a company to be in that immediate vicinity to keep the peace. But if our Government will give them the rights of

citizenship, I think the whole difficulty will be settled, because they will have the right to move from the Gila River, where their territory is cramped, and can go to Salt, the Colorado, or to any other river of the Territory, and do as other citizens do—take up land where there is land fit for cultivation.

I recommended in Arizona a diminution of that department. Now a great many people wonder I have sustained General Crook so often, and have spoken to me about it. General Crook is an excellent officer. He is a very quiet and retiring man, and I believe only seeks to do his duty as he is instructed, and he does it conscientiously. That is my opinion after long association with him. And yet a great many subordinate officers exceed their instructions, and are guilty of cruelties. But the trouble is not with General Crook. It is with the endeavor to keep peace with the Indians, and make war upon them at the same time. It is the want of a clear and distinct understanding of the way to deal with this whole question. Now the agents are very few in number, and they are hundreds of miles apart. Here is Dr. Tonner, one of the agents on the Colorado River. Several hundred miles from him is another agent, at Camp Verde. Several hundred miles is another, at Camp Grant. A hundred and twenty miles is another, up at Camp Apache. Now what is there behind these agents? They have a few employés, and these employés, as a general thing, must be taken from the country; for you cannot get men to go from the east, and therefore you get those very often who have been for a long time drunkards, sometimes licentious, and guilty of other immoralities. At one station in New Mexico, a Navajo station, I found that nearly every subordinate was guilty of some of these vices, and a man who was recommended for a sub-agent was not yet married to the mother of his children. Now what is the remedy? It is not sufficient to send an agent to one of these frontier posts or stations, but you must send a good Christian blacksmith, a good man for teamster, a good man for butcher, and they must be amply efficient in their trades, as well as good men. It may be necessary to pay more than the Government pays in order to get a Christian blacksmith, but the societies had better give the whole price than to have one who is guilty of nothing but gross profanity, or some other crime. Profanity prevails in that country, and I hardly ever found an employé at stations or on stage-routes who was not full of it, who was not always insulting the Almighty. Certainly, with such instrumentalities, you cannot civilize anybody. Therefore you must plow deeper than your agents. Agents have a hard, very hard time. In Arizona one of the agents told me, and I believe him, that it took every cent of his pay to procure just his food. Now what inducement is there for him to stay, but the love of his fellow-man and the love of his Maker? An agent all alone, with nothing to back him, stands in very poor circumstances to do much good. Then, again, as to the teachers. I was glad to hear some one speak of teachers who are willing to go along with these nomadic tribes. They are continually changing their camps and localities, and for some time you must let them do it. Those in New Mexico will not remain stationary. If two or three die in a camp, they will never stay there. When they remove, the teacher must go with them. Now, if he obtains their confidence, he can go with them, and they will treat him with the utmost hospitality and kindness; but if he has a nice house and they have none, there is a little envy and talk, and it is a difficult thing to answer; but if he will go among them, he can do a great deal in teaching under the trees throughout their wanderings. The boys and girls will gather around him and drink in his instructions daily. We must go on for awhile in that way.



Of course it will be well to change this order of things, but can it be done? Now, in order to demonstrate clearly that it can be done, all that is needed is to pass from one reservation to another. You take the Camp Grant reservation, which is a recent one, and nothing of the kind is yet undertaken. Go to Camp Apache, a little longer in operation, although under an incomplete and poor system in its work; yet up there there are ten tribes and the most of them are planting. I visited one of the planting-grounds off ten miles with one of the Indians who came on here. His name is Pedro. He was cultivating plenty of as good corn as I have ever seen, and some vegetables were being raised. He took a great interest in this, and has now procured some cattle, a present that was made him through the Secretary of the Interior. He is preserving them and they are increasing. He was very much delighted with everything he saw in the East, and he writes me, or dictates a letter, showing how he proposes to educate his children, and how he is working hard to carry out our instructions; and he has asked a little house to be built him, worth, perhaps, a hundred dollars. As soon as he gets a house some of the other people will want one, and little by little they will gather in the vicinity of these corn-fields, and they will have habitations. Forty miles on I went to Miguel's planting-grounds and there found very good crops of corn. Eighteen miles farther another, and there found better crops than the last place. These chiefs, now, would be very glad indeed to have a house. They have each asked for one, and if they once succeed and obtain one that they like, they will remain there and the people will group about them, and, little by little, will make their homes. There is plenty of timber in that country. It was the knowledge that these men gained when they came East which has helped them. Now, you may say, "they did not really become Christians, did they?" There does not seem to be anything standing in the way of their becoming Christians. There seemed to be no idolatry. You present the simple Father to them and they love Him. Do you say at once that they were rid of all their bad habits? Of course not. Miguel said to me, when he was reflecting on his journey East, "There are two ways; one is a good way, and the other is a bad way. I want to keep on the good way, until I get to God." And I do think, after a careful eight months' inspection of these people, and after having lived with them, that they are as capable of culture as any other people on the face of the globe. They are supposed to be the lowest and the vilest. If they are the lowest and the vilest, we have reason to thank God, because they are accessible, because they are docile, because they are easily won by kindness and the spirit of love, and it is thoroughly possible to get along with them. A great many people differ, and you will hear speeches if you will go into that section of the country full of fire and hate and enumerating all the wrongs and crimes that these Apaches have committed, and saying that you must deal with them with the bayonet, and that only; that you must kill them or bring them into subjection by fire, and a great many people all over the East are convinced that that is the case. One of our prominent scientific men, a Christian gentleman, told me that it was the will of the Almighty that these Indians should be wiped from the face of the earth; and many people whom I meet with daily in Christian circles intimate the same thing. But it is not true. If any man could so fix it upon my mind as to make me believe it, my faith in God would be shaken. They are children of a common Father, they are reached by the same methods by which men are reached here, and if you once, and only once, can get their hearts filled with the love of the Lord Jesus Christ, you are safe, and if you go



among them in His name, without fear and without hate, you will seldom meet with even a discourtesy.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman, before we proceed to the discussion of the four or five points which will be taken up directly, I think it is exceedingly important that we should hear from another stand-point. I see General Hazen is present. He has much information, and, for one, I should be very glad to hear from him. I think it is important that those doing work from the church stand-point should have an opportunity of being brought face to face with the officers of the Army, who are supposed to be Indian exterminators.

At the request of the Chair, General Hazen spoke as follows :

General HAZEN. Mr. Chairman, it will be very little I have to say, but I wish to corroborate very many things that General Howard has said, not that it needs it, but that his experience has been in many cases my own. I have been glad to hear from his own mouth the very interesting account of his mission, and I know it will do a great deal of good. And, as Mr. Welch has remarked, I wish to say one thing with regard to the Army which I represent, being, perhaps, the only representative besides General Howard here. I think there has been some little misunderstanding as to the feeling of the Army toward the Indians. There have been a great many blunders, and there has been a sort of double management in Indian matters, which, as in all other matters, must create confusion and do harm. But as an instance, coming under my immediate observation, as to the feelings of the troops, I will say that in 1855, when I graduated at the Military Academy, I was sent to Oregon to join the Fourth Infantry. I joined the post at Fort Lane, in South Oregon. It was commanded by Captain A. J. Smith. A few days before my arrival there had been a controversy between a white man and an Indian about a pony. It increased into a quarrel, whereupon the white man pulled out his pistol and shot the Indian. His people very soon afterward shot some white men. We had gathered in the vicinity of Fort Lane, the post to which I reported, a large number of the Indians known as Rogue River Indians, in that country. We were awakened one morning at the post by the continued noise of musketry in the direction of one of these camps, known as Old John's. We immediately hastened over there, and found the people of Jacksonville had formed a company of men, under one Major Lupton, and about the break of day they had attacked this camp and murdered indiscriminately a number of Indians. The Indians not killed, the men particularly, gathered their horses, and commenced a general massacre of the citizens, men, women, and children, on the upper portion of Rogue River, killing and burning everything that remained there, and then went over toward the mouth of the river, and the war of Oregon of 1855 and 1856 commenced. We gathered up all the Indians who remained near the post, and who had not received word in time to join this party which had become hostile and had committed these murders. We obtained from off the country the servants, for then there were a great many of the servants who were Indians, and gathered them in, knowing that the hostility was so great they would otherwise be murdered in cold blood. We had probably a hundred half-civilized Indians that we brought in for that purpose, and we had four or five hundred Indians under a chief known as "Old Sam." We had no sooner got these Indians together about the post, than this same company sent in a message to Captain Smith that he must surrender them, or upon a certain occasion they would attack their camp. There was considerable feeling throughout the country. Captain Smith sent back the message that if they

attacked these Indians, they would first have to attack and kill all the United States troops stationed at that post. His firmness in this matter prevented any attack. He protected these Indians while they were in great fright, for they were continually receiving information that they would be attacked and killed. As soon as this excitement had fairly subsided Captain Smith was sent, with all the troops and a large number of volunteers, down to the mouth of the Rogue River, to make war on this first party which had been attacked. The war continued for six or eight months, costing the Government many millions of dollars, appropriated since by Congress. I was sent, with the peaceful portion of these Indians, up to a new reservation in Oregon. I located them there, set them at work there, and I remained with them nearly a year. I knew nothing of their progress until last season when I saw, through the report of Mr. Brunot, they were still on that reservation and had made much progress. I merely speak of this to show you that the officers of the Army are not all hostile; neither do I believe there are many but who would be glad to carry out a peaceful policy toward the Indians if there could be some sort of close relationship and co-operation between yourselves and the Army in order to prevent massacres and to prevent a conflict of authority and of orders. After the war I found myself, in 1868, in charge of the Southern Indians—the wild Indians. I was sent on this duty under the auspices of the Indian peace commission. The New York mission that preceded this present organization was composed of members of Congress and others. I was told to go to Fort Cobb and gather in all the Indians who wished to keep out of hostility. I went there, assisted by Captain Alvord. We told all of the Indians who wished to keep out of the war, then pending, to come there, and that they should be protected, and there should be no military operations against them. I was told by the highest authority to tell them this, and also that I would stay with them, and would take care of them, and would teach them various things, as I was instructed to do. They told me, in a laughing way: "Why, this has been told us a half-dozen times before, and three times we have been put in a very fair way of improving; and your Great Father has taken away his chief, and has ceased to do the things he said he would do." Sure enough, in about four weeks a large military command came, under military auspices, and settled itself in my camp, frightening a great number of these people away. They did not return there until the military expedition left that country, toward spring, and I do not think they have all returned yet; at least, not to my knowledge, while I was there. So the Indians were right and I was wrong. We did not do toward them as we said we would do. And in a great many ways, under my own observation, other promises, made in good faith to them by those sent among them, were not sustained. And, in that relation, I must say it is exceedingly important that this commission should continue its work. The great trouble has been, ever since my knowledge of Indian matters commenced, that a set of agents to these Indians will be sent among these people, making the promises they were told to make by the highest authority of the land; they would commence carrying out this policy; they would do what they could; when, in the natural course of events in our country, a new administration would take control of things, and that new administration would not recognize the promises and the policy which had been advanced before. I see through this commission, since its organization, such improvement as I have never before seen in my life. In fact, I have never until now seen any progress in Indian matters. It passed along from year to year, and



was without improvement or opportunity for improvement. But I have seen, with my own eyes and understanding, the beginning of a regular organization and a regular plan and an actual improvement among the Indians themselves; and I am perfectly confident, from my own observation, that if this commission can be continued and can do its duty as it has been doing it, for the next four or five years, that we may safely believe the Indian troubles will be nearly at an end. I will only refer to the fact that I was so impressed with the importance of enlisting the sympathies of the good citizens of the country that, before this commission was organized in January, 1868, I wrote to Peter Cooper, then the president of what was known as the Indian peace commission, to please send some gentleman of their own society to live with me that winter and to learn what could be learned by personal observation. The response was quickly made, and Mr. Colyer came. The amount of good he did I do not know. I think it was considerable. Very soon after that time this present body was appointed, and I must say it is doing its work well, and will certainly succeed if it only perseveres in keeping up its own life and organization.

I, however, now come to one thing, and the only thing I came here really to say. I found on the Washita River a most peaceable and deserving band of Indians. Soon after going to Fort Cobb they came and wished to talk with me. Their story, which I knew to be true, was that they had always lived upon that river. The mountains and the river had their own name. In 1858 the Caddoes and some other bands were sent up from Texas by the Government with the promise that they should have a home there. They are now known as the Wichitas. They have never been given any land at all, and live there at present by sufferance. While the Indians who have fought us; who have given us a great deal of trouble, and on whom is annually expended large sums of money, the Cheyennes and Apaches, and many others, all have land. These people say "this country of ours is given away to these people who have fought you, and we, who have raised corn, who make our own houses, who did not trouble you, who did not go away, who, during your great war, removed to Kansas to keep out of the way, were left on our own grounds without any reservation or home, not knowing but what, at any time, it will be given away as you have given away a large portion of it already." They said to me if you can do anything for us please to do so; and I came here to-night, as it has been the first time I have had an opportunity to speak about it, to attempt to fulfill that promise. I hope that if this society can influence the assignment of a home to these people, which they may know is their own, that they will do so.

Mr. WELCH. I would like to say a word in regard to this. There is a railroad now just completed, passing within a very few miles of these very Indians, and I speak with great earnestness when I say that I hope the Christian people of the country will look after that particular tribe of Indians. I know them to be deserving. I know that they feel they have been greatly neglected. They can be reached with very great ease, the railroad being built almost to their very doors.

Mr. BRUNOT. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say a word or two in reference to the Wichitas who have been spoken of. The first annual report of the Board of Commissioners entered at large into a statement very much such as General Hazen has just given us. Knowing the facts in the case, we endeavored to induce the Government to set apart a reservation specially for these Indians.

I wish to say, in reference to a remark made by my friend Mr. Welch,



in relation to officers of the Army, (although I know it was merely a jocose remark,) lest it might, by any possibility, be misunderstood, that I have seen these officers in all parts of the country during the last four years, have met with them at many posts, and I never yet have found an officer of rank and experience in the Army who did not express himself in sympathy with the present policy of the President toward the Indians. I have received from them always courtesy and co-operation. There may be such men, but I say that among those I have met there has not been one who has not expressed himself in sympathy with this policy of the President, which looks to the civilization of the Indian race, and I know not one of them who does not believe that the Indians are capable of becoming civilized; that they have in them the same ability to reach civilization in due time, under proper care, as exists in the white race. I have said this lest there might be any misunderstanding in regard to the opinions which our board have of the Army, and in view of the efforts of interested parties—opponents of the Christian policy of the President—to disturb the friendly relations which exist.

General HOWARD. Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of the Board of Commissioner to this point; to ask them to do what they can in the way of suggestion or recommendation to prevent what one officer styled in a letter to me as "the double-headed policy." There is no double-headed policy in the President's mind, but I can give you one instance which will indicate the thing clearly. Last summer the Apache chiefs were here. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs promised them, the Secretary of the Interior promised them, the President of the United States promised them, and I promised them, the same thing. It was this: That if they would remain on their reservation and behave themselves, they should have the privilege of planting, the privilege of the freedom of the reservation, and should be unmolested. These Indians went right back, and I had hardly reached home before I received piteous letters through the agents stating that a captain somebody had arrived on that post, not coming from this direction, but from the other way and that he had ordered every one of them—men, women, and children—into the post, and ordered that not one of them should go a mile beyond the post, under penalty of death. They begged that they might be relieved from that order, wanting to know how it was that, after we made these promises, immediately they should be violated. Now, you may ask how that was possible, or consistent with orders. The department commander was carrying on war against what are called the incorrigible Indians, and he wanted these people to come into the post and to remain there close to it so that he would be sure that none of them would afford assistance to the others, and also that he would be able to protect them. These were doubtless his reasons, and he was operating under indirect orders from the War Department. You will thus notice how the one case comes in conflict with the other. But if we take a little pains there may be one single policy as indicated and desired by our good friend, General Hazen.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman, a single word. I only desire to say that the Army officers with whom I have been brought in contact have been as good Indian friends as I have ever seen. I have conferred with General Sherman for the last few years, and have been most cordially supported by him. I can say the same of the department commanders of the Missouri and Nebraska. They have supported me most cordially, and those under them have put themselves out of the way to do so, and have really, I think, felt a great deal more interest in the working of

the Indian commission than has the Christian church. And it is very encouraging to know that we are working in perfect harmony, while there seems to be a set of thieves and plunderers who are trying to hiss us down at all times for the purpose of gain by the introduction of their own policy. It is they who are trying to sap the foundation of the work we are doing, and who start these stories of a difference between the two branches.

The CHAIRMAN. The evening is passing somewhat, and there were a number of topics suggested at different times during the day which it was thought would require thorough discussion. I will mention some of them, and perhaps during the rest of the evening we can confine ourselves mostly to the consideration of one or the other of them, inasmuch as they have a perfectly practical bearing. We have been hearing a great deal of the evils with which we have to contend. Our object now is to find out how best we can meet and overcome these evils. First, then, "How to secure proper employées." Second, "How to secure missionary work at every agency." Third, "The true doctrine and the true methods to secure legislation in relation to titles to land in severalty to the Indians." "Complaints against agents when believed to be unjust. What shall we do with regard to them?"

Dr. LOWRIE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to suggest a topic, and that is, whether it would be practicable for us in this country to take a leaf out of the hand-book of the British in India. They govern India mainly by native soldiers, commanded by British officers of high order of character, and distinguished men. The rank and file are native Hindoos. I have been for months and months revolving these matters in my own mind, with a growing conviction that a great advantage would be gained by dispensing with the common soldiers, necessarily retaining, and wishing to retain, the officers on whom we must rely, and substituting Indian soldiers for the rank and file. I can see certain difficulties, but I think I see great benefit, and I would like very much if that was put down as a topic if it is thought worth while. I think it would save the Government a great expense and the Indian women a great degree of demoralization. I think it would save many causes of outbreak that now occur, especially on the part of intoxicated white men as soldiers. There are certain other reasons, but I wish to indicate a general subject.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman, I question very much if that topic should be discussed. We had better have that which all can agree upon, and I move that we proceed to consider the matter of lands. That is one of the fundamental principles, and one which will bring up the question of citizenship and all.

The CHAIRMAN. I remember there was one other topic that was discussed some time during the day, and it was thought advisable to refer to it again; that is, the administration of law among the Indians. It seems to me a very important one.

Mr. WELCH. I move that we proceed to consider that subject.

Dr. TREAT. Mr. Chairman, I do not wish that Dr. Lowrie's point should be disposed of so easily. I think there is a possibility of the consummation of an arrangement to be beneficial in all ways. It is in proof that a number of Dakota Indians were used as scouts, and very successfully used, very economically and very efficiently. That is, the purposes for which they were used were accomplished in a very proper and economical manner. And I have doubts whether our friends would not be perfectly satisfied with some arrangement that could be made. I am not sure just what the arrangement should be, but it



seems to me, and has seemed to me for some time, that the Indians might very successfully be used as a police.

Mr. WELCH. They are so used.

Dr. TREAT. And much more extensively than they now are. They might be used as scouts or as among the Choctaws. But in some way it seems to me that topic merits our consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no other topic presented, perhaps we may as well come to the consideration of the topic which Mr. Welch suggested; namely, the title to be secured to the Indians to their lands in severalty.

Mr. WELCH. Then I will open the discussion by saying it is the question of the present day. When we first commenced this work those who are making their gains out of the spoils of the weaker had pretty much the whole Indian work in their possession. We have driven them from point to point. At that time all the purchases were made under their direct supervision; so that in some cases we found that not over one-tenth of the appropriations made by Government have reached the Indians. The Indian commission commenced with the dry-goods first. As soon as they secured an honest administration in that branch, immediately the same men went to the groceries and freight. One item of freight was charged at \$170,000 in one year, and the next year the same men carried it for \$30,000. Then they were driven to one other matter, which was, applying to Congress for appropriations to the Indians, and they would take from 50, 60, 70, to 80, and 90 per cent. of that. That has been stopped by legislation. Now they seem by one consent to have settled down upon the land question, and there are powerful organizations here and in other parts of the country, that mean to deprive the Indians of every acre of their land, claiming that they have no more right to it than a wolf or a bear. About giving the Indians land in severalty, there are difficulties. When I was last in Washington, after returning from a visit to the Indians, I found them exceedingly anxious on that subject. I examined the question of their titles, and saw that they were worth nothing at all. I went to the Interior Department and asked some questions. They directed me to the law-officer, the Assistant Attorney-General, who has charge of that department, to examine the laws, and see whether there was any existing law that would enable the President of the United States or any other authority to give a title to the lands that the Indians held in severalty; whether the Government of the United States could give a title to the Indian, that he or his family should remain in possession without the power of alienation. That law-officer examined, and said it would require legislation. There is now a disposition on the part of nearly all that are interested in what is sometimes called land-grabbing, to show that the Indian has nothing more than a possessory title, even to the reservation, so that some legislation will be necessary. I do not know of any persons who would think of it more carefully or prepare for it with greater propriety than the Board of Indian Commissioners. I have been assured that the President of the United States could not give this title that we want. It has become very clear, I think, to all minds, and to those who have visited the Indian reservations, especially, that they cannot long retain their large tracts of land; that civilization is pressing, and this possessory title is not the kind that would enable them to retain permanently more than they could well cultivate. When the Indians have asked, time and again, in council, what I thought on that subject, I simply said, "If this territory is yours now, that is, if the United States has given it to you, as a reservation, I believe, after di-



viding to you in severalty in this form, if you choose to make improvements on them, no power on earth can dispossess you." And I believe that to-day. I believe that the Christian bodies represented here can have power enough to give the Indians perfect titles to farms. Beyond that I do not think we have power to go. We are always anxious to have this subject considered by the Christian people of this land, and the Indians be made to realize it as soon as they can. Hunting is becoming an uncertain means of subsistence, and we have found that a number of wild men have been driven in for food during the last winter and the winter before, showing that they cannot live much longer by hunting and fishing and so on. This subject, therefore, becomes one of the deepest interest, and I hope gentlemen who have had experience in it will give it consideration. If we can only agree upon some basis and are willing to band together, I have no doubt just such legislation can be had for it, touching farms of respectable size, as we desire; but that some legislation is necessary, I was assured by the law-officer of the Interior Department, who said that the President could not give a title to it.

About citizenship there is no question. It is admitted everywhere that an Indian in this country has a perfect right to leave his tribe, to surrender his title to anything that the tribe may get, and take up a tract of land as freely as any white man does. Dr. Treat referred to it to-day. I am familiar with these Indians, and observed them. Those who left the Santee agency went out without anything at all. I was in the governor's office when they brought in their money in five and ten cent pieces as they had got them, and paid it on their land. They have that land now, and have cultivated it to a certain extent. They left all their roving tribal relations the moment they were allowed to become citizens of the United States and take up land as any other. Therefore that question is settled. If they do leave them and abandon their tribal relations they abandon all the money due to that tribe, and it is afterward paid to the other members. However, Congress at its last session was very liberal indeed in authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to feed those Indians, if necessary, who had left the tribes of the Santee Sioux and gone off and taken up farms, showing that there was a kindly feeling toward them. Out of the large appropriations to the Sioux they now have authority to feed these Indians, if it should become necessary, so that as far as the citizenship is concerned that is arranged for. I do not see how the United States could well make citizens of foreigners with whom they have treated; and there is one of the difficulties. If they treat with them as a foreign power they cannot well be both a foreign power under a treaty and citizens at the same time; but if they are willing to abandon one there is no difficulty. That, however, is an open question, which has never reached any judicial decision, and it may be well, perhaps, to consider the subject. But the importance of their having land of their own is evident, and those of us who have had the subject before us see that we cannot make much progress until that is done. There is great jealousy upon the part of some of the tribes. The Oneidas have a beautiful tract of land which they are afraid they cannot keep. Many of them wish it divided into severalty, but no movement can be made in that way unless the *whole* tribe can agree; and there is the difficulty. It is a very serious subject, but the influence we can exert by way of agents from these tribes would influence their opinion very much indeed, and we do not believe that they acquire the habits of civilized life to any high degree until they do get that influence. But then comes difficulty with the Indians in many cases like

those you have heard of to-day. When a death occurs, everything is parted with. They think a white man is hard-hearted because he lives in his house as comfortably after the death of a relative as before. But these difficulties have been overcome generally by Christian influence, and we have ennobled them and lifted them up. Some of us have seen these men persecuted like the early Christians when they dared at the time of the death of any of their relations to retain their property and to prevent those from taking it who came around like buzzards. But the subject of the land question I feel is the one upon which we should band together; for that is the last ditch, it is the last fight, and you and I know something about it. You know that we have made the battle here. We know there is to be a dreadful fight, and unless we band together we will be whipped.

Mr. HAYDEN, of Arizona. Mr. Chairman, I never made a public speech in my life, but my experience on the frontier makes me feel that I ought to speak. We have in New Mexico a perfect title given to all the Indians in New Mexico of all the land they could cultivate, and we see in New Mexico along the banks of the Rio Grande towns of Indians perfectly isolated from the balance of the population, and who do not enter into their political matters. They have their farms, their little bands of cattle, and seem to be the most happy people in the country. They never have been contaminated by contact with the Army, which has been kept in the country, and are an exceedingly good people, and it seems to me that it arises from the fact that they had these lands and that they have had something on which to rest and they had been protected in it. As I have been so long on the frontier, of course I enter into the feelings of the frontier people, and I am satisfied in my own mind that the great difficulty of managing this Indian question in regard to lands is, that the Government has given them much more than the frontier people think they had any use for, or that they could make any use of, and they have therefore encroached upon them and driven them from one point to another, while if they had given them what they could have used, and then educated them, or if you could now sell their lands for the purpose of education, it would be much better. If they are your wards, can you not take their property and apply it for the purposes of elevating the Indians, making them fit for civilization? Give them all the land they can possibly use, make a perfect title which will never be disturbed. I do not think it will ever be destroyed by the frontier people or by anybody else if they only had the land they could use, and all they could use, and then they themselves would feel satisfied. We could make them feel that they would always possess that land. I am familiar with this subject in Arizona because I have been there fourteen years and know a great deal about the Indians. But I wanted to call your attention to the fact that there were Indians in the United States having lands which were given them by the Spanish government the title to which has never been disturbed, and that these Pueblo Indians, as the New Mexican people have told me, are the very best citizens they have of the working population.

The CHAIRMAN. We are very glad, indeed, to have heard from Mr. Hayden.

Mr. JANNEY. Mr. Chairman, this is a subject which I think is very important to the welfare of the Indians. As I have had some connection with the management of the question I think it right to express my views. When I went out as superintendent of the Northern superintendency there were three of the tribes who had the privilege of receiving the land in severalty. Perhaps I should say two of them at that



time. They were the Omahas, the Santees, and the Winnebagoes. In one of the first councils I held among them this question came up: Whether they were willing that the Government should proceed to survey this land and allot them in severalty. They were apprehensive about it at first. I suppose their apprehension was, that if a portion was given to them in small farms of one hundred and sixty or one hundred and eighty acres, the remainder would probably be jeopardized—that they might be deprived of it. I succeeded in overcoming their objections, and they agreed to have their lands divided to them. By a treaty with the Omahas they were entitled to one hundred and sixty acres to a family, and forty acres, I think, to a single individual. The Winnebagoes had different stipulations, I think. They could receive but eighty acres. The survey was made, and it was a long time before the certificates came to the Winnebagoes. They only received them a few months ago, after waiting, perhaps, two years, owing to delay, I suppose, in the Land-Office. However, the more fully they came to understand the importance of it the more did they desire to receive these patents, as they are called, or certificates. The certificates granted to the Omahas gave them only a possessory title, to descend to their children. They could not alienate their lands; they could not convey them to a white person. They could convey them to the Government alone. It was thought necessary, as they are wards of the nation, that they should not have the power to dispose of their lands to white men, because, if they did so, white men would go among them on the reservation; would have a right to go there, and would corrupt them, and they are so little capable of coping with white people in bargains that it was believed they would lose their lands if they had the privilege of selling them. That was my impression, and I yet say that I think the arrangement is a suitable one; but I think they ought to have a permanent title. They ought to be secured in the possession of their lands. The people of that State are very desirous to have all the Indians removed. Their legislature is of that opinion; their governor, while I was there, recommended it, and the only safety for these Indians is in the protection of the Federal Government. I believe that their progress in civilization and Christianity depends greatly upon their having permanent homes and having those homes improved. That they should be assisted to build their houses, have their lands broken and fenced, and have wells dug to supply them with water. They will then feel as if they had homes; and that is one of the first steps toward their civilization. My impression is that after having received their allotment they would have too much land. The Winnebagoes have about ninety thousand acres, and the Omahas, of whom there are only about a thousand, have two hundred thousand acres.

A VOICE. Very fine land, too.

Mr. JANNEY. At the last session of Congress a law was passed authorizing the survey and sale of fifty thousand acres of land, of the reservation of the Omahas, to sell to the white people, the funds to be applied to building houses, supplying live stock and agricultural implements, and to start an industrial boarding-school. A survey has been made, and I suppose about this time they are nearly ready to bring the land into market. This will reduce their reservation to one hundred and fifty thousand acres, and it will still be ample. Perhaps they could spare more, and as there is so much jealousy on the part of the white people about their having so large a reservation, I approve of their being reduced to a moderate size and the proceeds applied to their benefit.

The Santees have a possessory title only. There is not a regular res-



ervation authorized by Congress. They were merely placed there by the President or by the Secretary of the Interior, and their titles, I suppose, are simply possessory titles. But if it is necessary to have further legislation in order to secure them in these lands they have had surveyed and allotted to them, I should think it proper for this body or for the Board of Indian Commissioners to advise the right kind of measures, and to recommend them to Congress. This important question should be acted upon, and wisely acted upon.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not in the province of the chairman to direct the course of remarks on this subject, but it seems to me that we hardly need any discussion on the importance of having the Indians coming to secure possession of their lands. It seems to me the object of discussion is, how shall we promote that? and if any gentleman present has anything to suggest in that line, it would appear to me to be most appropriate.

Mr. TATHAM. Mr. Chairman, this question seems to me to lie at the foundation of your success or failure, in regard to the elevation of the Indians. I regret to find in the report of the Indian commissioner sentiments which, to my mind, are subversive of success. In order to justify this country with the practice which has prevailed for a long time, he has to go back hundreds of years, when it was supposed that kings ruled by divine right, and that whatever they said or did was law immutable. I hold in my hand some of his remarks to that effect, from which he argues that the Indian has no right to the lands in this country at all, except what he derives from the United States Government. He says that in the early history of the western world, the principle was established, as between European nations, that discovery confers sovereignty upon the government under whose authority the discovery was made, and the discoverer was accorded the exclusive right to acquire the sole possession and title. He then goes on to show that the rights of the Indian are nothing but possessory rights. Bishop Whipple, in a very interesting speech, quoted the language, although I do not know where from, that the land belongs to the saints, and we were the saints. That was the common feeling then, but I believe it has degenerated into an idea that they have no rights except what they derive from us. I wish to argue the rights of conquest and that kind of thing. If there are any rights of conquest to be given to men, I cannot find that Christians can avail themselves of that right, who call themselves the followers of Christ, and whose title must be read in the New Testament. We do not have to go back, I think, to those old times when might made right. If we take the Declaration of Independence as the foundation of our Government, we find there the broadest declaration of human rights, applicable to all men, and not at all excluding Indians. If we take up the Constitution of the United States we find it very much in accordance with that. Therefore, whether we take the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, or whether we go back to the higher law, which I think is binding upon us as Christians, we do not find any authority to deny to a people possessing the land their right to it. They have the right of possession. They have had the right of descent from time immemorial, and who can question such a title as that? Who is there in this room who can claim a right to any of the Indians' land under any law? Who is there in the United States who can do so? Not a soul. Then why is it that we find throughout this report sentiments which seem to ignore the rights of Indians because they made treaties with the United States. I will grant that, under the laws of the United States made with the Indians,

the Indian gets no title, but he had a title anterior to that of the United States which no honest man will question; and I hold that as men, if we want the property of another, whether it be land or whether it be goods, we ought to buy it, and pay for it a fair consideration, such as they are willing to part with it for. I therefore am prepared to take issue with this general feeling that the Indian has no right to the soil. He has a right to the soil as much as any of us have. Here is a sentiment which was expressed by the former Commissioner of Indian Affairs in referring to certain Indians: "These Indians have never been collected upon a reservation, nor brought under the immediate supervision of any agent. So long as their country shall remain unoccupied and not in demand for settlement by the whites, it will be scarcely desirable to make a change in their location." That is the history of the whole thing.

Mr. WELCH. That is a particular tribe, is it not?

Mr. TATHAM. It is applicable to the whole of them. So "long as it is not wanted for settlement they ought to be allowed to have it."

Mr. WELCH. That is an argument outside of reservation.

Mr. TATHAM. Undoubtedly. The Indians, in many cases, have ceded portions of their territory piece-meal; but does that destroy their right to what is left? Who had the right before? When they ceded it, when the Government of the United States made a bargain with them, under the term of treaties, it was a bargain, an agreement. And when they came to the Indians, and made an agreement that they were to have so much land that was formerly the Indians', and guaranteeing them their possession forever of the balance, we did not take away the original right of the Indians. It added to it, if it added anything. It added the promise of the United States and guaranteed them possession. It did not take away their original right. Therefore, it seems to me that the assumption that the Indian has no right to the land he lives on is something that we as Christians must take issue with.

Now, I wish to make a few remarks in reference to the Stockbridge Indians. This tribe were formerly an intelligent and prosperous people not a whit behind the most advanced race, possessed of good farms, well stocked, and industrious; but, unfortunately for them, they, much to the advantage of the Government—which acquired thereby a valuable tract of land for white settlement—removed in 1857 to their present place of abode. The change has proved highly detrimental to their interests and prospects. Their new reservation is, the greater part of it, poor, and the soil is seriously affected by the wet seasons and frequently by frost, and has never yielded them more than a meager subsistence. And the Commissioner goes on to describe the miserable effect which our paternal Government had inflicted by cheating these men and despoiling them of their improved soil and putting them on a place where white men would not be content to live. This constant removal and robbery of the Indians lies at the foundation of your want of success. I have traced the history of the action of benevolent people for many years; from the time, I think, of Little Turtle, in seventeen hundred and something. Ever since the days of William Penn I find one similar thing all the way through: that when an Indian has improved his land, and is in a fair way of success, the cupidity and avarice of the white man comes in, displaces him, and, by one plea and another, removes him. Now, I think the proper part is that we must attach them to the soil in some way. Generations have gone before you, and, in an honest desire to raise this people, the same feeling has actuated the hearts of benevolent people before, and yet they have failed, and why?



Because the Indian has not been possessed of the soil. Therefore, it seems to me that we must take some measure to attach them to their land and to maintain their rights. So long as the Indian, or any other human, peaceful being is looked upon as an outlaw having no rights which white men are bound to respect, so long as that, your efforts to raise them will be futile. How late is it since the colored man attained his rights? I know I am trenching upon another subject. I have seen the time when the colored orphan asylum in New York was burned and gutted, and when the streets were filled with people carrying away the spoils from that institution; why? Because there was no protection in law. As I have said repeatedly, if Alexander T. Stewart's store in New York was known to be beyond the protection of law for six hours, there would not be a shred left in it.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman I suppose would not have the same measures adopted to secure the Indian his rights that was pursued in the case of the negro. Can he suggest some remedy?

Mr. TATHAM. Our friends will remember last year I took the same ground. Some worthy interested men were afraid of political action. We were trenching upon politics, and that was dangerous ground. It is the only ground that we can stand on in this country. What is Congress? They are the expressed will of the land. Their acts are supreme. And what is Congress composed of? The representatives from localities all over the United States. Are they interested in this? Who cares for the Indians? None. Not a voice, unless some benevolent man rises up to protect them. There are some benevolent people, and I hope I am one of them. But we must increase our number. You who represent your Christian denominations numbered by millions must educate your people to this point, and in some way ask them to cast their vote for you. When you tell these people in the Capitol that votes depend upon their action then they will come with cap in hand. They never will succeed until they exercise the right to vote. What was the colored man until he obtained that right? I was one of those whom General Howard referred to as doubtful about giving it until they were qualified for it. They had no standing. There were none so poor to do them reverence, but the instant they obtained a vote you saw the thing transformed, and now even some of your members of Congress are colored men. The negroes have nothing more to be desired in that respect. Give the Indians the right of citizenship and the right to vote, and the whole matter is secured. It seems to me there is no other way than that, and therefore it seems to me we must turn our attention to that. If the gentlemen who represent the different denominations here will agree with that, and carry that out and enlist their people in support of it, the thing can be done.

Dr. BACKUS: Mr. President, I do not propose to be lengthy, but I should want hours to discuss this subject fully. My mind, for four years, has been settled upon citizenship, as that to which we must come, and I was glad to hear General Howard speak in favor of it. I have said it in private, and have said it when and where I thought it was proper in public. I do not believe we can stop short of it and have peace with the Indians. But I do not know how soon we shall be prepared to come to it. I know we took great care of the colored people for many years, and for many years the Government thought it was cruel to leave them to suffer; but we have allowed colored people the privilege of citizenship, and I think we should now allow the Indians the same privilege. But I could stand here an hour and name objections to that course. I see serious difficulties; but I do not see light



in any other source than citizenship, and that qualification will carry with it homes, property, voting, government—everything. I believe the Indians will stand under that work, and do it as well as any of us, when they are brought to it. I spent some weeks in the Cherokee Nation. I was in the capitol, both in the upper and lower house, day after day, when they were in session. The chairman of the upper house asked to have a conference. I complied. He named a day, and took a whole day in conferring with me on the interests of government, and I was very much pleased to have him do so. He gave me much light into their matters. They have a printed constitution; have a printing-press, which I helped them to get.

They print the paper; they print their own laws; and, I believe, they print for the Government whatever is needed. They conduct their business in their upper and lower house with their first, second, and third chiefs, under their own regulations, as well as some of our State legislatures, in my opinion. I saw that, by dividing their land, they could give four hundred acres to each Cherokee who breathes. I think I made it by a calculation four hundred and four acres. That could be given to a Cherokee or to an adopted citizen. Now, suppose they did so. It is said that the whites would cheat them out of it. Then, why do not you take care of two-thirds of the poor whites? Because the other third is cheating them out of their land, as they have been doing every day since their existence. There is a class of whites who cheat the poor whites. Why do not you make wards of them, then? The same thing is done right over here among ourselves, and we had better begin at home, and take care of our own poor fellows before we go off and take care of the Indians, as I see it. But, again: Suppose it is so conveyed that a man sells his land, but cannot convey away that of his wife any more than we can that which belongs to our wives. You fix that so that you hold one third of my real estate. Well, let the Indian woman hold hers. Provide for her as I have provided for my wife, and you may provide for the children if you please. But as to the whites going in, I have studied that subject; I have conversed with Secretary Cox and Secretary Delano, and I say it is the mischief of the thing that the whites go in; I saw several cases. We had an excellent student in the school under one of our teachers some few years ago. She was the best pupil in the school, and, as our teacher believed, possessed one of the noblest minds and hearts. But she married a loose reckless white fellow, who went in there from nobody could find out where. The commissioner said he was well educated, had been a scholar somewhere, had been in fine position, and belonged to a family of accomplishment. The teacher said that could be seen in him, but said he, he has lost it all; he has gone into the lowest depth of degradation, and now he has taken my best pupil away and I cannot stop him, and day after day I had seen this man in his white skin ride his horse into the capitol and then ride out into some settlement of these Indians, drinking and carousing, and that was all he did. Any rascal can come there, marry an Indian woman and be protected, and more persons rush in there who would otherwise be in State's prison or at the gallows than go anywhere else. A large proportion of their white population has run away from justice and from the gallows. I met two men, each named Hunt; one was from Michigan and the other from a town in Tennessee, I think. I said to one of them, "Are you related?" He replied that they were not, and said, "We never met each other until we met down here, but one of us has married an Indian woman; that makes him a citizen here, and he hires me to work for him. That he has a

right to do, and we are making money hand over fist. We are cutting off the lumber for thirty miles around here and the regulations allow it, and that Hunt, who married the Indian woman, is a citizen and I am his hired man." I said, "Don't you take half the money?" He said "No, not while I am here in the territory. I am at work for him because he is a citizen." And I see these advantages are taken, and I would rather a thousand times that you would let your white mechanics and white farmers and white stock-drovers take the land and buy it, and live there and be an example for them and show them the use of agricultural implements and how to cultivate the land, &c., than to have the class of population which now infests that country. I say it would be better to give such a white population who could go there and buy the land and set a good example and afford protection; and I say again that the Indians of the Cherokee Nation—and I say it only for illustration—are as competent to-day to elect their governor, lieutenant-governor, senators, assemblymen, and justices, as are white men. And they have them now. They have their nine judicial districts, their nine judges, they have their circuits; they are well arranged, and it needs but a slight change to organize their government into that of a State, allowing them representation here at Washington as other States. I say to you, as I said to Secretary Delano, "You take these prairie chickens, tie them foot to foot by fives or tens, and they will die; but cut them loose and let them stand, and they will take care of themselves." And just so it is with these Indians: tied, crippled, and fettered. It is said that they do not want citizenship. I talked that all through with my friend, the chairman of the upper house. When I first proposed it he seemed alarmed, but before I left him he was cheerful at the thought. It used to be told us that the colored people did not want their liberty; that it was the worst thing you could give them. I tell you the best thing you can give to a human being is citizenship. Let self-reliance take possession of a person, and he will make something that he never will reach as a ward. The land belongs to them or it does not. If it does belong to them, give it to them; but we give it to them as I give anything to my little son. I say, "That is yours, but don't you sell it, my boy." Well, then, it is *not* his. The Indians are simply playing that it is theirs, while we have everything in our power and do as we please. If we want to go through their territory with a railroad, we go. If we want to appropriate their property to ourselves, we say it is not theirs. I feel assured that the time is coming when we should step forth and recognize the rights of these Indians to citizenship and property. If they lose their property, they are doing no more than we have done before them. More than one-half of us are losing ours, but we go to work and get more; we have to do so. If we were all wards and could fall back on the Government to bring us food, it might be different. When we have happened to have had a hard winter, I do not see anything but a county-house for a great many whites. Still, "root hog or die" is a principle; and let us put them in a position to "root."

Mr. Ross. Mr. President, I had not proposed to say a word in relation to any of these questions. I came here to listen and not to speak. But, as the distinguished gentleman who has just taken his seat has referred to the Cherokee country, I hope I shall be excused for saying a few words in relation to the subject now under discussion. Two remarks were made this evening that struck me very forcibly. One was by Bishop Whipple. If I caught the idea correctly, it was this: that most of the difficulties which occurred with the Indians spring from a feeling of despair. That was one idea. And why does that feeling or



sentiment exist in the minds of the Indians? Is it not, simply, sir, because there has not been that entire good faith observed toward him that ever should be observed, and because the danger is that there is to be no such faith extended, and he is doomed to nothing but disappointment throughout his whole life? That is the cause of this sentiment, and I ask this meeting, composed of gentlemen distinguished in so many various denominations and in so many walks of life, to bear that fact in mind, and let them, so far as their influence and their action may go, keep an eye in regard to legislation that is even now going on at the national capital.

The next sentiment to which my attention was called, if I mistake not, was that of the distinguished officer of the Army who visited Arizona. His idea was simply this: to treat the Indians as he would treat any other men. Well, sir, I say so, too. If he is a man and endowed as other men, if he has ears to hear, tongue to speak, and heart to feel, treat him as a man. If we make a pledge to that man, carry it out. If we agree to do a certain thing with him, do it. Now, sir, in regard to the Indian Territory, a question has to-day been discussed involving the future political condition of that Territory, and of the seventy thousand Indians who are there to-day, and others who, in all human probability, are to be brought there. You have within the limits of that Indian Territory what I conceive to be the hope of the rest of the few hundred of thousands of Indians that are left within your limits. And I therefore think that this is a question of the gravest importance: the manner in which the legislation of this Government shall be conducted respecting these Indians. I need not tell this honorable meeting that the most of the Indians who inhabit that Territory were taken there from east of the Mississippi. I need not tell this meeting that they went there under obligations which are still in existence as a part of the plighted faith of the Government of the United States; that they should be protected in their rights; that that Territory which is ceded to them should never in any time to come, without their consent, be embraced within the limits or jurisdiction of any State or Territory. That pledge exists to-day. And so far as the question of title is concerned, I wish to state that there has recently been a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, growing out of a sale of six hundred thousand acres, located in the southeast corner of the State of Kansas, to Mr. Joy. That case came up before the Supreme Court of the United States in such a manner as to involve the question of the title that these Cherokees had to that portion of their country, and the Supreme Court decided that the Cherokee Indians obtained from the Government of the United States a fee-simple title to that country, and that that tract of six hundred thousand acres was embraced in the same patent executed in 1838 by Mr. Van Buren and the Cherokee Nation, in which was included also the present strip of country which they now occupy. Well, sir, it is in accordance, as I believe, with law, common sense, and justice. If it be correct, what is the position which the Cherokee Nation occupies to-day in relation to this diminished reservation, which is only four million two hundred thousand acres left of the fourteen millions of acres that they owned about the time that the war commenced? Why, sir, it is theirs. If they own the fee-simple title to it, how do you propose to say to these Indians that they shall retain only one hundred and sixty acres of it, and that they shall sell the remainder of it? It is their own. If they have a right to one foot of it, they have a right to it all. And beside that, the Choctaws and Creeks and the Seminoles own their lands in the same way. These



Indians have, in my opinion, a fee-simple title to the country that they now occupy. It was given to them when that country was not needed; when it was a wilderness, and when it was the policy and the purpose of the Government to force them from the States where they then lived. Now, if they have a fee-simple title, have you any right to say that they shall sell all over a hundred and sixty acres per head? Why not, upon the same principle, go into the States and parcel out all the large plantations that exist? I think there ought to be some distinction made in legislation in regard to Indians, between the tribes who are considered to be civilized and those who are nomadic. They talk about Indians indiscriminately. They draw no distinction between the Indians who are living to-day by the sweat of their brow, cultivating the soil and raising stock, and those who have no local habitation, and hardly a name. There ought to be a difference in the legislation of the country; but still they ought to be treated as one. My friend, Mr. Backus, thinks we have had a bad class of people coming into the Cherokee country. We have precisely the same class of people in Washington and in the Indian country. We have good, bad, and indifferent. I do not think the class of white people, taken as a class, who go into the Cherokee country, deserve the reproach to the extent they receive it from the hands of persons who frequently speak of whites who go into that country. I am very far from indorsing their character. But if that be true on the one hand, and that class of people ought to be kept out of the country, how are we to be benefited when we are made citizens, and the whole white population is thrown among us indiscriminately? There is an inconsistency in it, it appears to me. If these white people coming in among us are exerting such a bad influence, will the influence be any better when the whole race overflows the land? There is another question of importance involved in regard to the rights of the Indians in that country. It is the distinction which is tried to be drawn between the rights of the soil and the sovereignty. They say Congress has the right to legislate on questions purely political, but that it has no right to interfere with the soil. They say, "Therefore we will not regard our pledges to you and protect you, but we will extend a territorial government and influence over you." The right of self-government of these Indians was a part of the consideration which induced them to remove from east of the Mississippi, and I do not see how it is practicable, under the circumstances, for any territorial bill at present to be passed that will affect the Indians in that Territory, and at the same time the good faith of the Government be preserved. I know that this is a difficult question. I know it is going to take time to work it out, but I am clearly under the impression that the policy which is pursued in protecting these Indians on their reservations is the correct one. I do not know of any Indians in any of the adjoining States who are allowed to live there in any peace, who have been protected. Nearly all the Indians in Kansas and that section of country have been forced away, notwithstanding some of them had their land assigned to them in severalty, and had become citizens of the United States, as in the case of the Pottawatomies. They had not been allowed to remain there, and had been forced by pressure of circumstances, not by law, to leave the limits of Kansas, and are now domiciled again in the Indian Territory, after having been made citizens of the United States, with the declaration of law that, while there in the Indian Territory, although they are citizens of the United States they shall not claim or enjoy any other rights than Indians in that Terri-

tory, who are not citizens. They make them citizens, and then they go down there under these conditions.

Now if Indians cannot live in peace on their diminished reservations in the State of Kansas, I want to know what inducement they have to change their political relations, and ask that they may be overwhelmed by a white population?

If I thought they were ready for such a change, I would say let it come; but believing they are not prepared, I hope it will not take place. I hope more time will be given to these Cherokees, and to the neighboring tribes, to develop and improve until they shall become prepared to enjoy the rights of citizenship. In this connection I may state that we have had about sixty schools in operation during the past year. We have an orphan asylum, at which we have seventy-five pupils. We propose to add \$100,000 to it out of the proceeds of the sale of our lands. We propose out of the same fund to set aside \$100,000 to establish an institution for the blind and insane; \$75,000 more out of the same source for the purpose of establishing a school, into which we shall introduce destitute children from seven to ten years of age, speaking the Indian language almost exclusively, and give them a knowledge of the English language.

And there is where the great difficulty lies between the Indians and the whites. There are two difficulties: one is the Indian, as a general thing, has not been brought up from early childhood to habits of industry; and the next is, we find, among these many civilized tribes, that a large majority of the people do not understand the English language, and, of course, find it difficult to get along when thrown into competition with the whites. Our plan is, as rapidly as possible to teach these children the English language, and then teach them the higher branches of education if we can, so that whenever these changes do take place, (I know they are inevitable, but I hope they will not occur at present,) the great mass of our people will be in a condition themselves voluntarily to accept of the change in their constitution, and not feel that it is going to be their ruin, and involve them in bloodshed, as they would feel if the thing were peremptorily pressed upon them at present.

DR. FERRIS. I would like to ask Brother Ross what proportion of the Cherokees are not able to speak the English language?

MR. ROSS. I merely make an estimate when I say there must be two-thirds of them who cannot speak English.

MR. WELSH. To bring this matter to a practical point, I would merely move that the Board of Indian Commissioners be requested to procure such legislation as will enable the Government to give a title to farms to Indians; that seems to me to be all that is necessary. Some little legislation is needful. My motion is that the Board of Commissioners be requested to consider the propriety of the matter, and act upon it if they see fit.

MR. TATHAM. I should be glad if the representatives of the various bodies here would say that we remonstrate against all action tending to rob the Indians of their land, and that we will not vote for any man, but will do all we can to prevent the return of any man, who casts a vote in that direction.

The motion of Mr. Welch was carried unanimously.

MR. WELCH. As to the administration of law, there is one bill which has just passed the Senate, providing for the appointment of five inspectors, who are to visit each year every Indian reservation with special reference to seeing how far law is administered, and in what way it



can be administered. Congress sees the difficulty, and they are endeavoring to remedy it.

General HOWARD. Mr. President, I think, on the subject of the law, that the suggestions of Bishop Whipple were right to the point. I saw, all through Arizona, that there was a necessity for some legislation beyond anything which now exists; that certainly there should be somebody clothed with judicial authority. A great complaint arises in Arizona that crime is not punished. That is true. There is no punishment for crime unless you bring the army and shoot right into a whole tribe, although the depredations may have been committed by but a few. If there were magistrates to punish the guilty it would save the Pimas from a great deal of unmerited accusation, and it would be the same with the Papagos. In speaking some time ago in respect to citizenship, I had in mind especially these tribes. They need men of judicial functions. In the different pueblos in New Mexico they have their own methods of government. All ought to be under some law, so that all will feel that when murders are committed the criminal may be brought to justice and punished, be he white or be he Indian.

Mr. WELCH. I would be glad to hear whether the Board of Indian Commissioners have that subject especially before them. The chairman is right. He has seen the evil. It must be remedied in some way. We find it utterly impossible in the Indian country, unless we are near some fort, to obtain justice. People may depredate and do anything they please; there is no law.

The CHAIRMAN. Will Mr. Brunot give us information on that point?

Mr. BRUNOT. Our board have again and again had that question before them, and in our visits to the Indians we have constantly had before us evidences of the necessity of some civil laws which may be extended over certain tribes. It would be utterly impracticable to extend our civil law over *all* the Indian tribes without doing a vast deal of mischief. The exercise of the plainest law over some of the wild tribes would be simply and necessarily considered by them as an act of war. They are not capable of understanding it in any other way, and until they are taught better there is no wisdom in proposing to extend civil law over such tribes. On the other hand, there are other tribes of Indians as capable of being ruled by the civil laws of our country as ourselves, and I believe that, if these laws were extended over them, there would be far less crime committed within these communities than in any white community I know of relatively to the population. I may mention one or two incidents. Take, for instance, a tribe I visited a few years ago where there had been eleven murders of Indians by Indians within a year, and yet no adequate punishment could be administered for the simple reason that the first attempt of the superintendent to secure the punishment of one of these murderers was resisted by attorneys among the whites, and the person was discharged by the court. I found, at one place, two Indians wearing a ball and chain under the superintendent's sentence of six months at hard labor for murder. They were very anxious, at the close of the council, to have the opportunity of appealing to me against the supposed wrong being perpetrated upon them by the superintendent. I agreed to hear them, and after the council they came. I said, in answer to their question as to why the superintendent was allowed to make them wear these chains and to work, "What does he punish you for?" "For killing a man." I said, "Did you kill him?" They replied, "Yes, we killed him but then we had a right to do it—he killed one of our friends." And that was all their idea of law; yet these people were working as white men work and



among white men. They wore the clothing of civilized men, some of them spoke English well, and were as well fitted for the possession of citizenship as white people of a similar class in that part of the country. That is one illustration. Perhaps another, which occurred in the same region, would be still more striking. Three or four years ago an order was issued that as slavery had been abolished within the limits of the United States, the President could not permit slavery to exist among the Indians. Consequently it became necessary that a number of persons of other tribes held among the Indians should be allowed to go back to their friends. There was one man who could read and write and had what is called a good common-school education, and was at that time in the employ of the superintendent of Indian affairs of the Territory. He had in his family a slave, an Indian girl, whom he regarded as a member of his family. I believe they were greatly attached to her, and she occupied almost the relation of one of the children. When this order was given to him and he was required to free the girl, he quietly said, "I will free my slave in my own way," and he deliberately went home and shot her. That man could not be punished, although the incident occurred almost in the suburb of one of the western towns, simply because the civil law of the country could not be exercised over the Indians. Such had been the decision of the courts. The thing had been attempted, and it could not be done. A more striking illustration than this probably would not be needed, and I presume even these were not needed to convince the gentlemen present of the necessity of some action.

Then on the other point of the necessity of such extension of civil law there, as shall protect the Indians against the whites, as well as against each other, I mention a single instance. On the borders of the Indian Territory, in a town containing a population of some hundreds, not more than three years ago, an Indian was lying in a saloon on a bench asleep. I believe he was not intoxicated. Several young men entered the saloon, and one of them said, he believed he would kill that Indian. He took out his revolver, and shot at the sleeping man as he lay on the bench, and killed him. After the deed was done, it was thought there might possibly be some punishment attempted. The father of the murderer was the judge of the court. The judge was immediately sought. He was aroused at midnight, was consulted on the subject, and at once organized his court, assembled a jury, tried the criminal, acquitted him, and the next day he was a free man, and none could touch him for the crime he had committed. That, I presume, is a sufficiently striking illustration of the difficulty of obtaining justice for the Indians in some quarters of the border.

Now, sir, as to the remedy, our board have done what we could in the way of public recommendation in several reports; and, in the report just printed, we have asked or recommended that a law should be enacted which will authorize the President of the United States, at his discretion, to extend the civil law by proclamation over any Indian tribe where he should deem it proper. I know of no other plan by which this thing can be reached without doing a degree of damage in some quarters, not perhaps equal to, but approximating in some degree the good it would do in others. I hope the gentlemen present will use whatever influence they may have with the members of Congress to induce the enactment of such a law as this which we have recommended.

The CHAIRMAN. I suppose it is drawing near the time to close the discussion. There is one question, however, which I would like to ask Mr. Brunot in relation to this suggestion to Congress, and that is whether

it is accompanied with this condition : that the President have authority to extend the laws of the United States, or such laws as are applicable over the Indians, whenever they consent to it. If it does not embrace that condition, then we run counter to the principle of our whole treatment of the Indian nations, as a separate organized or unorganized independent body. The whole policy of the Government has been hitherto to treat with them, and the moment you begin to treat with them you treat with them as outside persons, over whom we have no other authority than those which are secured to us by treaty. And it seems to me that any recommendation to Congress to empower the President thus to act should be accompanied with this condition, "whenever they are prepared to receive it."

Mr. BRUNOT. I would state in reply, and as additional information on the subject, that at the reservation on the west coast from which I have taken my illustrations, the Indians have for years desired that there should be protection to their lives by the extension over them of law for the punishment of crimes. Nearly all the treaties provide that the civil law of the United States may be extended over the Indians at some time, I believe, when they shall be deemed fitted for it; shall abandon their tribal relations, and express the wish to become citizens. That is the usual provision. But, I think, that this civil law should be extended over them, even though they shall not be entitled to the privilege of citizenship. I do not wish to be misunderstood. I think many of these people are fitted for citizenship now, and should have that privilege. But I do not wish that they shall wait for this protection to their lives until the Government is ready, or the people around them are ready to concede to them that privilege.

Mr. TATHAM. Mr. Chairman, I believe it is a well-settled principle of law that crime committed in any jurisdiction is subject to that jurisdiction. If an Englishman, for instance, were to commit a murder here he is liable to the law here. I do not say that in the instance of murder mentioned by Mr. Brunot the prisoner was not amenable to the law of the land. It was not, as I understand him, committed on a reservation. The difficulty is that these Indians are held to be outlaws, and to have no standing in court, and where that ruling comes from I cannot understand. We took some action in reference to this matter last year, presented a memorial to Congress, and I know it had great effect upon them. If it had been followed up Congress was ready, as I was informed, to enact a suitable law. But nothing has been done. It seems to me it is necessary, when we ask or recommend to Congress any action, that we should be prepared with some provision to that end. There is no use in making a general request; they have no time to attend to it. You must first have the thing clearly arranged; then wait upon them and give your reasons, and I have no doubt you will succeed.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the gentleman thinks that it would be expedient for the Board of Commissioners, or some person connected with them, to prepare a bill such as they think Congress should enact and put it into the hands of some member of Congress who will see that it is properly presented. To pass a resolution and ask Congress to do something without ourselves furnishing them with an idea of what we want done is just to do nothing.

Adjourned to meet at 11 a. m. to-morrow.

The meeting was held, pursuant to adjournment, at 11 o'clock a. m., Thursday, January 16.

Rev. George Whipple was requested to continue as chairman, and Rev. J. G. Brown was elected secretary.

After some discussion, the following resolution was adopted:

*Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to wait upon the President to inform him of the substance of the reports given by the several delegations representing the progress of the work in which we have been engaged, and to communicate our high gratification with the sentiments expressed by him in his letter to a Hon. Geo. H. Stuart, of the Board of Indian Commissioners, October 26, 1872, in which, referring to a rumor of a contemplated change in the policy, he said:

Such a thing has not been thought of. If the present policy toward the Indians can be improved in any way I will always be ready to receive suggestions on the subject; but if any change is made it must be on the side of the civilization and christianization of the Indians. I do not believe our Creator ever placed the different races of men on this earth with the view of having the stronger exert all his energies in exterminating the weaker. If any change takes place in the Indian policy of the Government, while I hold my present office, it will be on the humanitarian side of the question.

The following gentlemen were named as the committee: Rev. George Whipple, chairman; Benjamin Tatham, esq., Rev. J. M. Ferris, D. D., Rev. Dr. Dashiell, and John A. King, esq.

The committee called upon the President, and having performed the duty assigned them, the following letter was addressed to the President by the chairman:

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 16, 1873.

*To the President of the United States:*

A meeting of representatives of the various missionary and other organizations, co-operating with the Government in the care of the Indians, was held at Washington, on the 15th and 16th of January instant.

The representatives present, deeply impressed with the very gratifying reports of the successful working of the peace policy of the administration, and the very encouraging results of their missionary labors in connection with it, unanimously

*"Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to wait upon the President, to inform him of the substance of the reports given by the several delegations representing the progress of the work in which we have been engaged, and to communicate our high gratification with the sentiments expressed by him in his letter to a member of the board of Indian commissioners, October 26, 1872, in which, referring to a rumor of a contemplated change in the policy, he said:

*"Such a thing has not been thought of. If the present policy toward the Indians can be improved in any way, I will always be ready to receive suggestions on the subject, but if any change is made, it must be on the side of the civilization and christianization of the Indian. I do not believe our Creator ever placed the different races of men on this earth with the view of having the stronger exert all his energies in exterminating the weaker. If any change takes place in the Indian policy of the Government, while I hold my present office, it will be on the humanitarian side of the question."*

*"U. S. GRANT."*

The following gentlemen were named as the committee: Rev. George Whipple, chairman; Benjamin Tatham, esq., Rev. J. M. Ferris, D. D., Rev. Dr. Dashiell, John A. King, esq.

The committee having waited on you in person, and collectively and individually expressed to you their high appreciation of the policy referred to, their great gratification at the success reported from all parts of the field, and their profound conviction that a few years' continuance of that policy will place it beyond the fear of hostile intervention, and insure its ultimate triumph in the civilization of the Indians, it only remains for me, Mr. President, to assure you of the continued and cordial co-operation of the various bodies represented in the meeting, and implore for you the continued presence and blessing of Almighty God.

Very respectfully and truly yours, &c.,

GEORGE WHIPPLE,  
Chairman of the Committee.

THOMAS K. CREE, Secretary







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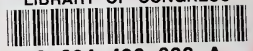
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